From Temple to Church

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From Temple to Church

Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity

Edited by

Johannes Hahn, Stephen Emmel & Ulrich Gotter

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CONTENTS

List of Figures vii
Abbreviations ix

Chapter One "From Temple to Church": Analysing a Late Antique Phenomenon of Transformation 1
Stephen Emmel, Ulrich Gotter and Johannes Hahn

Chapter Two Models and Evidence in the Study of Religion in Late Roman Egypt 23
Roger S. Bagnall

Chapter Three Rechtgläubige—Pagane—Häretiker. Tempelzerstörungen in der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung und das Bild der christlichen Kaiser 43
Ulrich Gotter

Chapter Four From Temple to Cell, from Gods to Demons: Pagan Temples in the Monastic Topography of Fourth-Century Egypt 91
David Brakke

Chapter Five The Christianization of Pagan Temples in the Greek Hagiographical Texts 113
Helen Saradi

Chapter Six Iconoclasm and Christianization in Late Antique Egypt: Christian Treatments of Space and Image ... 135
David Frankfurter

Chapter Seven Shenoute of Atripe and the Christian Destruction of Temples in Egypt: Rhetoric and Reality 161
Stephen Emmel

Chapter Eight Die Zerstörung der Kulte von Philae. Geschichte und Legende am ersten Nilkatarakt 203
Johannes Hahn

Chapter Nine The Conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias in Context 243
Angelos Chaniotis

Chapter Ten Continuity and Change in the Cultic Topography of Late Antique Palestine 275
Doron Bar

Chapter Eleven Modalitäten der Zerstörung und Christianisierung pharaonischer Tempelanlagen 299
Peter Grossmann

Chapter Twelve The Conversion of the Cult Statues: The Destruction of the Serapeum 392 a.d. and the Transformation of Alexandria into the "Christ-Loving" City 335
Johannes Hahn

Index of Ancient Sources
A. Biblical books 367
B. Ancient authors and works 367
C. Inscriptions and graffiti 371
D. Papyri 372
General Index 373

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter Seven
Stephen Emmel
1. Statue of an Egyptian (Ptolemaic) naophoric priest (London, British Museum EA 65443) 200
2. Naos of an Egyptian (Ptolemaic) naophoric priest, containing the god Min (Bonn, BOSAE inv. no. L 885) 201

Chapter Eight
Johannes Hahn (Philae)
1. Plan der Insel Philae 241
2. Stephanoskirche im Isistempel von Philae 242

Chapter Nine
Angelos Chaniotis
1. Aphrodisias, South Agora Gate, north corridor. Engraved crosses 263
2. Aphrodisias. The temple-church 264
3. Aphrodisias, Tetrastoon: Honorary epigram for a man who saved the city from civil strife 265
4. Aphrodisias: Pillar with two inscriptions concerning the Jewish community at Aphrodisias 266
5. Aphrodisias: Inscription naming Jews and proselytes (early fifth century?) 267
6. Inscription on a seat in the Bouleuterion naming the Jews (fifth/sixth century) 268
7. Representation of menorah and shofar on a column of the Sebasteion (fourth/fifth century) 268
8. Representation of menorah on a column (bottom) of the South Agora (fifth/sixth century) 269
9. List of theosebeis, including a man with the Christian name Glegorios (Gregorios) (fourth century) 270
10. Erased representation of menorah and shofar on a column of the Sebasteion 271
11. Representation of double axes on the pavement of the Tetrapylon 272

12. Imperial letter on the parodos wall of the theater. The name of the Aphrodisieis has been erased 273

Chapter Ten
Doron Bar
1a. 'Ein Tzur, plan of remains in area of spring 292
1b. 'Ein Tzur pool during the Byzantine period: a reconstruction 293
2. Caesarea Maritima: the temple platform in late antiquity 294
3. Scythopolis-Beth Shean, map of the central area, including (nº 14) the round cella temple 295
4. Caesarea Philippi (Paenias), cave and temple of Pan 296
5. Mamre, Constantine's Basilica: a reconstruction 297
6. Har Senaim, Hermon, the lower cult enclosure 298

Chapter Eleven
Peter Grossmann
1. Kirche in der sog. Festhalle Thutmosis III. (18. Dyn.) in Karnak 327
2. Kirche im Tempel des Mandulis von Kalabša 328
3. Kirche im Vorhof des Tempels von Bīğa 329
4. Stephanoskirche im Isistempel von Philae 330
5. Month-Tempel von Petemout (heute Madāmūd) 331
6. Kirche in der Hypostylhalle des Chonstempels von Karnak 332
7. Kirche im zweiten Vorhof des Millionenjahrhauses Ramses' III. in Kastron Memnonion (Madīnat Hābū) 333
8. Kirche und Klostergebäude im Tempel der Triphis von Atripe 334

Chapter Twelve
Johannes Hahn (Serapeum)
1. Alexandrian World Chronicle: Events of a.d. 389–392 (P. Goleniscev, VI verso) 364
2. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria (385–412), triumphs over the god Serapis in his shrine (P. Goleniscev, VI verso, detail) 365

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of journal and series titles follow the conventions of *L'année philologique* as compiled by P. Rosumek, *Index des périodiques dépouillés dans la Collection de Bibliographie classique et dans la Revue des Comptes Rendus des Ouvrages relatifs à l'antiquité classique (publiée par J. Marouzeau) et index de leurs sigles* (supplement to *APh* 51), Paris 1982; see also *APh* 76 (2005), xxi–li. Abbreviations of journal titles are always given in italics (cursive). Abbreviations not listed by *APh* (including abbreviations for reference works) are taken from *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3d ed., vol. 11, Freiburg etc. 2001, 698*–733*, with the following additions (which follow, to the extent possible, S.M. Schwertner, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete / International Glossary of Abbreviations for Theology and Related Subjects*, 2d ed., Berlin – New York 1992, and the lists of instrumenta, series, and periodicals in *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* [http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist_papyri.html; most recent printed version ed. J.F. Oates et al., 5th ed. (*BASP* Suppl. 9), n.p. 2001]):

BSAC	*Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*. Cairo 1935ff. (until 1937: *Bulletin de l'Association des Amis (des Églises et) de l'Art Coptes*).
CEFR	Collection de l'École Française de Rome. Rome 1972ff.
CiSt Series	*Cistercian Studies* Series. Kalamazoo etc. 1969ff.
CUFr	Collection des universités de France. Paris 1920ff.
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (du Caire). Cairo 1924ff.
GöMisz	*Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*. Göttingen 1972ff.
JCoptS	*Journal of Coptic Studies*. Leuven 1990ff.
LCL	Loeb Classical Library. London etc. 1912ff.
LSJ	Liddell, H.G. – Scott, R. – Jones, H.S., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., Oxford 1940.
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo 1902ff.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta. Leuven 1975ff.

Pap.Lugd.Bat.	Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava. Leiden etc. 1941ff.
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World. Leiden etc. 1992ff.
SKCO	Sprachen und Kulturen des Christlichen Orients. Wiesbaden 1997ff.

Authors and works of ancient literature are abbreviated according to *LThK*^{3} 11 (2001), 735*–742*, with recourse when necessary to G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, ix–xliii—of whose system the one used in *LThK*^{3} was intended to be a direct development—and (*mutatis mutandis*) *LSJ* xvi–xxxviii, plus the following additions (mostly taking account of relatively frequently cited sources in Oriental languages):

Eun. *v. soph.*	Eunapius Historicus, *Vitae sophistarum*. [Supercedes *LSJ*'s "Eun. *VS*".]
Hist. mon.	*Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, *Historia monachorum in Aegypto. Édition critique du texte grec* (SHG 34), Brussels 1961; trans. idem, *Les moines d'Orient*, vol. 4.1: *Enquête sur les moines d'Égypte (Historia monachorum in Aegy[p]to)*, Paris 1964; ed. and trans. repr. in: idem, *Historia monachorum in Aegypto. Édition critique du texte grec et traduction annotée* (SHG 53), Brussels 1971. [Supercedes Lampe's "Pall. *h. mon.*"]
HPE	*Historia Patriarcharum Ecclesiae Alexandrinae*, ed. and trans. B.T.A. Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* (PO 1.2 [pp. 99–214 = no. 2], 1.4 [pp. 381–518 = no. 4], 5.1 [pp. 1–215 = no. 21], 10.5 [pp. 357–551 = no. 50]), Paris 1904–1915.
Jo. Eph. *h. e.*	Johannes Ephesinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. E.W. Brooks, *Iohannis Ephesini Historiae Ecclesiasticae Pars Tertia*, 2 vols. (CSCO 105–106 [= Syr. 54–55]), Louvain – Paris 1935–1936.
Pan. Mac. Antae.	[Ps.-Dioscorus Alexandrinus], *Panegyricus in Macarium Antaeopolis episcopum*, ed. and trans. D.W. Johnson, *A Panegyric on Macarius, Bishop of Tkôw, Attributed to Dioscorus of Alexandria*, 2 vols. (CSCO 415–416 [= Copt. 41–42]), Louvain 1980.

Paphn. *h. mon.*	Paphnutius, *Historiae monachorum in Aegypto Superiore*, ed. and trans. E.A.W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1915, 432–495 (text), 948–1011 (trans.); trans. (with paragraph numbering) T. Vivian, *Histories of the Monks of Upper Egypt and the Life of Onnophrius by Paphnutius* (*CiSt* Series 140), Kalamazoo 1993 (2d ed. 2000), 71–141.
Synax. Copt.	*Synaxarium Ecclesiae Copticae*, ed. and trans. R. Basset, *Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite (rédaction copte)* (PO 1.3 [pp. 215–380 = no. 3], 3.3 [pp. 243–545 = no. 13], 11.5 [pp. 503–859 = no. 56], 16.2 [pp. 185–424 = no. 78], 17.3 [pp. 525–782 = no. 84], 20.5 [pp. 735–790 = no. 100]), Paris – Freiburg im Breisgau 1907–1929.
V. Sin.	*Vita Sinuthii Archimandritae bohairice*, ed. J. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia*, vol. 1 (CSCO 41 [= Copt. 1]), Paris 1906; trans. D. Bell, *Besa, The Life of Shenoute* (*CiSt* Series 73), Kalamazoo 1983.
Zach. Mit. *h. e.*	Zacharias Mytilenensis Rhetor (Scholasticus), *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. E.W. Brooks, *Historia Ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori Vulgo Adscripta*, 4 vols. (CSCO 83, 84, 87, 88 [= Syr. 38, 39, 41, 42]), Louvain 1919–1924.
Zach. Mit. *v. Sev.*	Idem, *Vita Severi Antiocheni*, ed. and trans. M.-A. Kugener, *Sévère, patriarche d'Antioche 512–518. Textes syriaques publiés, traduits et annotés*, pt. 1: *Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le scholastique* (PO 2.1 [pp. 1–116 = no. 6]), Paris 1904.

Papyri are cited according to the conventions established by *Checklist* (see above), inscriptions according to the abbreviations listed in B.H. McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.–A.D. 337)*, Ann Arbor 2002, 387–472.

CHAPTER ONE

"FROM TEMPLE TO CHURCH": ANALYSING A LATE ANTIQUE PHENOMENON OF TRANSFORMATION

Stephen Emmel, Ulrich Gotter and Johannes Hahn

If we are to believe the ancient literary sources, Christian protagonists attacked the famous pagan cult centres at Heliopolis (Baalbek) very soon after their religion became protected by the state, and then they attacked them persistently and with radical consequences. Eusebios reports that Emperor Constantine not only abolished the immoral cult of Aphrodite in Heliopolis, but furthermore distinguished that "city of idol-worshippers" by constructing a church and establishing a powerful ecclesiastical-civil administrative hierarchy.[1] The later Church historian Sozomenos focuses this information—in analogy to the situation in Jerusalem—on the very building: according to him, Constantine destroyed the Aphrodite temple itself and erected his church on the ruins.[2] Nor does the temple of Baal (Zeus), the largest sanctuary in the city, go unnoticed in reports of destructions: the chronicle of John Malalas, from the sixth century, and the *Chronicon Paschale*, from the seventh century, record that Theodosios I destroyed the colossal structure and made it into a Christian church.[3] And yet, Zacharias Rhetor and the chronicle of Ps.-Dionysios of Tel Mahre report pagan cultic practise in that temple more than a century later, in the time of Justinian, when fire coming down from heaven finally put an end to it: the sanctuary and all its cultic equipment was, so they declare, thereby destroyed down to the ground, and all that was left were a few stones that the fire had caused to blow apart, bearing testimony to the structure's fate.[4]

Even just this very brief sketch of reports of temple-destructions in Heliopolis shows that the literary reports about the pagan cult buildings there are not easily reconcilable with one another. The picture

[1] Eus. *v. Const.* 3.58; see also Socr. *h. e.* 1.18.
[2] Soz. *h. e.* 5.10.
[3] Jo. Mal. *chron.* 13.37; *Chron. Pasch.* anno 379.
[4] Zach. Mit. *h. e.* 8.4; Ps.-Dion. *chron.* III anno 554/5.

becomes still more complex when one tries to combine the written sources with the material remains. In what survives of the building that may be identified as the temple of Aphrodite, no trace of any church has been found; and the basilica on the terrace of the temple of Baal was built not in or on top of the temple itself, but rather it covered the two great altars in the temple's western forecourt and the steps leading to the level of the stylobate.[5] The temple of Baal itself is indeed very severely damaged, but the spolia from which the basilica was built come almost exclusively from the two altars.[6] And finally, it seems that also the date of the basilica is incompatible with the literary evidence; the type of building is much more likely to belong to the middle of the fifth century than to the time of Theodosios I, and probably it was not until the sixth century that the apse was moved from the western end of the nave to the eastern end.[7]

Despite unavoidable feelings of frustration amidst the many unanswered questions, one ought not to be satisfied merely with the well known complaint about the limited value of the Christian sources. Certainly the case of Heliopolis serves as a warning about how little one may speak in connection with this topic about a simple representation of the historical reality. But on the other hand, precisely in their idiosyncratic distortions, these sources betray much about the function and the perception of temple-destructions over the course of time. All the sources clearly reflect the regional importance of the cult centre at Heliopolis for the process of Christianization. The prominence of the sanctuary complex, with its indisputable and awe-inspiring architectural magnificence, provides the focus that gives significance also to actions directed against it, a point of reference for stories of successful destruction and transformation, stories of imperial orthodox faith, of Christian martyrdom, of pagan recalcitrance and resistence, as well as of divine intervention.[8] Cult centres like Heliopolis are especially useful examples for pursuing the question of how "paganism" was dealt with in the different media and genres of literature, both at the time and in the perceptions of subsequent generations. The destruction and

[5] Westphalen 1999, 70–71.
[6] Hoffmann 1998, 286.
[7] Westphalen 1999, 71.
[8] In addition to the references already cited in the preceding notes, see also: Thdt. *h. e.* 3.7; *Vita Rabbulae* pp. 169–170 Overbeck (trans. Bickell 1874, 175–176; Doran 2006, 74–75); Cassiod. *hist.* 6.15.4; *Chron. Pasch.* anno 362; Thphn. *chron.* anno 360/1.

transformation of such sanctuaries into sites of Christian churches were not only real undertakings and thus concrete events, but also—at least from the bird's-eye perspective of history—central symbols of changes in religious relationships, in the socio-political system, and in the public perception during late antiquity. They testified to the fact that the world had become a different place. Contemporary participants in these events were most probably very conscious of their symbolic dimensions, and thus the appropriation of a religious site belonging to others could not help but be an *immediate* demonstration of power and orthodoxy, not an event that was viewed as such only after the fact.

To be sure, this perceptual-symbolic quality—which is also evident in the case of Heliopolis—poses at the same time the greatest barrier to a strictly historical examination of the phenomenon in any given case. Both within the immediate contemporary horizon, as well as through the process by which memory endows the past with meaning, various perceptions and strategies were shaped into texts the nature of which make any reconstruction of the events themselves largely hypothetical. This is as true for lives of saints, Church histories, and chronicles as it was on the other side already for the imperial legislative decrees, the orations of Libanios, and historiographical and other works in the classical tradition. In theory, at least, a certain counterweight to this world of literary discourse is provided by the archaeological evidence: ideally, material remains can show what destruction and reuse meant concretely and can provide clues for dating the events—also quite apart from the corpus of *exempla classica* that figure prominently, and repeatedly, in the texts.

The destruction of a temple—whether through mere demoliton or transformation into something else—was a complex phenomenon encompassing the monument's overall significance, the action taken against it, and the literary discourse concerning it. At all these levels, the perceptions, interests, and means of expression of very different—and also differently *present*—participants intersected. The *dramatis personae* of any given temple-destruction, as they appear in the texts, were: first, Christians; second, members of the group that is now generally designated as "pagan"; and third, the emperor together with the men who managed the imperial, regional, and local institutions of the empire. But even these three groups were anything but homogeneous: the imperial, regional, and local agents of the government were literally worlds apart from one another in the far-flung Roman empire; the "pagans" were in fact members of a large number of various cultic communities, whose

collective "group identity" first emerged as a result of their common conflict with Christianity; and the Christians constituted a somewhat fragile community of notionally unified, but in fact quite diverse adherents with a still infirm structure of ordinary believers, members of the official hierarchy, local charismatics, and others. Thus the destruction of a temple in late antiquity inevitably had many facets, including also a spatial dimension: putting this phenomenon at the focal point of analysis means posing questions about local religious, social, and political configurations within both regional und imperial contexts.

In the present volume, most of the chapters of which represent lectures that were given at a colloquium held at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, 7–9 November 2002, as a part of the activities of the Münsteraner Sonderforschungsbereich 493,[9] these various possible perspectives on the phenomenon at issue are brought together experimentally: the language of the surviving monuments, the concrete historical event, and the discourse embodied in the written products that have been transmitted to us by various means. If one takes a perspective that focuses on the *monuments*, then the discussion concerns the effects that the destruction or transformation of cult centres had on the local cultic landscape. Here a rich complex of questions arises. What did temples and cults signify for pagan cultic groups and local communities? What can be said about the continuity and intensity of their use? What was the temporal relationship between abandonment, destruction, or closure of the shrines, and their transformation into Christian churches?[10] This last question especially is no less essential for the character of the transformation than it is complicated to answer. For the dynamics of the transition "from temple to church", it is decisive whether the Christian sacral topography fitted neatly into the shoes (so

[9] The SFB 493, "Funktionen von Religion in antiken Gesellschaften des Vorderen Orients", was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft from 2000 through 2003. Our colloquium ("Vom Tempel zur Kirche. Zerstörung und Erneuerung lokaler Kulttopographie in der Spätantike") was sponsored by the SFB's Teilprojekt B1, "Tempel und Tempelzerstörungen – Verlust religiöser Zentren: Gründe, Wirkung und Bewältigung". The editors would like to express their thanks to Bernd Isele (Ph.D. Münster 2006) for his assistance of various sorts both in the organisation of the colloquium and during the preparation of this volume.

[10] These questions (and one more: what effects did the destruction/transformation of the cultic locale have on the local cultic landscape?) were posed in writing to the colloquium participants in advance of the meeting itself, for them to consider in preparing their lectures. For an insightful critique of some of our leading questions, see Bagnall's contribution to this volume.

to speak) of the pagan sacral topography, or whether one must reckon here with a marked break, with more or less a de-sacralization that was followed, only in a later and separate step, by a re-sacralization of the former cultic space. To be sure, the decisive archaeological evidence for this question, above all with regard to actions like the removal of building materials as spolia or the demolition of buildings, is extremely difficult to interpret. In any case, results can be achieved only with respect to strictly local or regional contexts, for which reason the present volume collects several case studies focusing on specific regions (Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor).[11]

If one looks at the aggressive destruction of a temple as a real historical *event*, then the central concept is conflict. A starting point is the observation that while disagreements over cultic buildings could certainly come about, they were by no means predetermined and did not occur everywhere where they might have occurred. Rather than there being a uniform pattern of religiously motivated violence, apparently there were concentrations of incidents in different areas and at different times, and, on the other hand, periods and places of relative calm.[12] Thus if one wants to investigate the dynamics of attacks on pagan cult buildings, one must first inquire into the regular patterns according to which the various local conflicts developed. By what legalities or legal means did the local conflicts arise and evolve? Who were the driving forces? What role in the conflict did the temples' economic aspects play (temple inventory)? What functions did the conflict over cult centres serve for the relevant religious groups? And, because it had to do after all with actions of public violence, what state institutions were involved as participants?

A perspective that focuses on *discourse* about the destruction of temples promises a double gain. On the one hand, discursive creations offer a key to the perceptions both of pagan cult and of religious conflict. Thus we may ask, how were the pagan temples und divinities understood

[11] To our regret, three lectures from the colloquium are not included in the present volume, by Richard Bayliss ("The Archaeology of Temple Conversion in Cilicia and Beyond"), Paul-Louis Gatier ("Le destin des sanctuaires païens du Proche-Orient syrien à l'époque protobyzantine"), and Andreas Gutsfeld ("Im Spannungsfeld paganer Tradition und christlichen Wandels. Die Agone im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr."). On the other hand, Johannes Hahn's chapter on the destruction of the Serapeum was not delivered as a lecture at the colloquium, but has been added here in order to round out the volume with a synthesizing case study.

[12] This conclusion has been drawn by Hahn 2004.

from the Christian side? What were the respective semantics of different types of Christianization of buildings in various local contexts? And then, on the other hand, an explicit examination of the relevant literary discourse(s) can clarify the presence and function of temple-destructions in the various literary genres in which that discourse appears. Here it must be asked, what role did the destruction of temples play in different literary genres? Who are made out to be the heroes of the respective anti-pagan battles? Is the destruction of a given temple associated with the central imperial authority or with local authorities? What possible significance did the narration of temple-destructions have for the construction of the Holy Man? The appearance of such features having genre-specific functions also makes it possible—to a certain extent as a side-effect—to estimate on a broader basis the value of texts as sources for reconstructing the narrated events themselves.

The three perspectives sketched here—the perspectives of monument, event, and discourse—can of course be kept separate from one another only on the heuristic level: to be sure, the individual contributions to the present volume have their own respective focuses of interest in this regard, but the questions that have been posed above, like the different aspects that have been emphasised, for the most part cut across the different individual topics treated. That this is so is due essentially to the relative scarcity, and also the peculiarity, of the evidence, which must necessarily be used from all three possible perspectives.

The connecting theme of this volume is, as its title indicates, the phenomenon "from temple to church" in late antiquity.[13] Thus it seeks to make a contribution to understanding the religious and social transformation that occurred in that period, especially by subjecting then contemporary paradigms of action and perception and modes of literary reflection, as well as particularly relevant archaeological evidence, to comprehensive scrutiny. Such a procedure must of course take up and try to illuminate critically the predominant point of view of the relevant authors of the fourth and fifth centuries—the great majority of whom were, to be sure, Christian propagandists of various stripes.

[13] We took the main title of our colloquium, and of this volume, from F.W. Deichmann's article "Vom Tempel zur Kirche" (1964). Our choice was based on an appreciation of the multiple meanings that the phrase "from temple to church" can have: from the concrete and specific sense in which a given building might be converted "from [a] temple to [a] church", both functionally and formally, to a generalizing historical sense in which late antiquity might be described as being characterized by—among other things, of course—a movement "from temple to church".

At the same time, such a focus with regard both to content and to conceptualization of course also implies a hypothesis, in so far as it would seem to accept a specific historical sequence as being the rule and to make that sequence a part of the phenomenon under investigation. But this way of proceeding was intended in part to test that hypothesis, and then to go on and try to define more precisely the phenomenon's historical facets and its significance, particularly in the context of the Christianization of late antique society.

Now, there is no doubt that the frequency—or even just the regularity—of such transitions "from temple to church" defies all attempts at quantification. Quite apart from other methodological (and also religious) considerations, already a simple quantitative consideration makes it clear that pagan sacral structures were *not*, as a rule, turned into sacral structures of the new, victorious religion after the Constantinian turning point. Indeed they *could not* all be thus transformed, for the number of cultic structures that had been erected across the centuries for a plethora of divinities in every ancient city was far too great, the pagan religious infrastructure that had developed much too diverse, extensive, and spacious. In the case of the Egyptian capital, this fact can still be grasped in outline: the so-called *Notitia urbis Alexandrinae*, a municipal register of buildings that apparently strove for completeness, but which survives only in a late Syriac source, preserves an invaluable record (invaluable because nothing else like it has been transmitted from antiquity) of the total number of all the buildings that served (pagan) cultic purposes in the late antique metropolis. For the five traditional municipal districts of Alexandria, designated Alpha to Epsilon, an impressive total of 2,478 "temples" is given.[14]

Moreover, in many cases the decline of pagan places of worship began far earlier and had no connection at all with the rise of Christianity. Thus also the question of putting decaying or abandoned places of worship to other uses did not arise for the first time only with the triumph of Christianity and its need for meeting-places or architectural

[14] Fraser 1951, 104; in the document itself, the sum is calculated wrongly as 2,393. The term "temple" is used indiscriminately in the *notitia* for all cult buildings in the city. Not every one of these structures will have had the form of a temple in the proper sense, with a spacious *temenos* and the usually associated outbuildings; rather, every sort of sanctuary and cult structure—including even private shrines—could well have been included in the count, provided only that they were structurally independent (cf. ibid., 107). On the *notitia* and its evidence, see also Hahn in his chapter on the Serapeum in this volume.

victor's trophies; rather, this was a problem of urban planning and maintenance that the municipal and provincial administrations in the Roman empire must have had to deal with on a regular basis.[15] The establishment of a Roman military camp in the great temple complex at Luxor in the third century certainly does not signal an act of religio-political aggression. Egypt with its unusually rich written documentation can perhaps document also another normalcy of the antique religious transformation, one that can be all too easily overlooked. In Oxyrhynchos in the year 295, according to papyrological evidence, there were already two Christian churches in existence, as well as a synagogue and a dozen temples. In the second half of the fourth century, but still before the edicts concerning religion that Theodosios issued in the 390s, the Hadrianeion was transformed into a prison, the Kaisareion into a public building and then a church, and the temple of Thoeris into an apartment building.[16] There is no reason to believe that these changes in use were carried out in the wake of violent confrontations.

It deserves to be stressed that comparable evidence can be assembled from other places as well. In Antioch in the year 335 the temple to the Muses, which was located prominently in the centre of the city, was given over to new administrative purposes: the first *comes Orientis* received the representative building as his *praetorium*; two years later, also still during Constantine's reign, the temple of Hermes was transformed into the so-called basilica of Rufinus; and then under Constantius, the de-sacralization of the Tyche temple is attested, that is, a sanctuary of the utmost significance for the sacral identity of Antioch, without any report of pagan opposition.[17] Somewhat later, however, in the brief period of the Julianic restoration efforts (362–363), political conflict

[15] As governor of Bithynia and Pontus, the younger Pliny was confronted again and again with the problem of unfinished or ruinous public constructions, although no temples occur among the cases to which he referred—doubtless only a selection of the neglected items of infrastructure with which he was confronted—in his correspondence with Trajan. Provincial governors in late antiquity had to face similar problems and were to take responsibility for unfinished and decaying public buildings: see *Cod. Theod.* 15.1.2 (anno 321). On the regular inspection of public buildings (*aedes sacras et opera publica inspiciendi gratia*…) as integral to the duties of provincial governors in the Principate as well as in late antiquity see *Dig.* 1.16.7.1, quoting from Ulpian's *De officio proconsulis*.

[16] *POxy*. I 43 and XVII 2154, as well as *PSI* III 175 with Haelst 1970, 501.

[17] Jo. Mal. *chron.* 13.3–4, according to which source the basilica was erected—the wording of the text suggests rather renovated—by the praetorian prefect Rufinus. On the associated problems, see Downey 1961, 349. In 354 the Tychaion still served as a kind of lecture hall, before it was then robbed systematically and completely of all its decoration. Its use thereafter is not known, but in any case it was not destroyed.

would affect the destinies of other municipal places of worship: the rhetor Libanios made repeated personal appeals to try to protect fellow members of his social rank, who were now being summoned to court, from having to restore formerly pagan premises that had been alienated from their previous uses and reconfigured as private villas.[18] Even this distinguished advocate of the pagan cause and propagandist of Julian's restoration was by no means unfamiliar with such a pragmatic manner of dealing with obsolete places of worship.

Decades later, in his work *Pro templis* that he addressed to Theodosios around 385, Libanios tried to oppose the increasingly frequent destruction of temples by fanaticized Christians. To the Christian emperor he proposed the possibility of transforming the now obsolete temples into public buildings, for example into tax offices, and so to protect them as precious "eyes of the cities". This is not really a last desperate attempt to save the old places of worship from irretrievable demolition, but rather a pragmatic reference—in the face of vandalism and an anarchic fury of destruction—to a long established and respected practise that had both preserved the monumental splendour of the cities and also kept the imperial treasury ringing with an influx of coins. Only two decades later, the first legislation in history concerned with preserving historical monuments—decreed by Theodosios's sons—contented itself with pursuing only the first aim and proclaimed protection for abandoned pagan cultic buildings against violent attack by Christian groups.[19]

Looking at the transformation of temples into public and private buildings for non-religious uses is important not only with regard to determining the appropriate context for the topic of the present volume, for it also points up a desideratum of research that is still outstanding. Ever since the fundamental works of Deichmann, a certain line of research has been devoted to the question of the transformation of temples into churches, particularly from an archaeological and architectural perspective, and in this context various comprehensive (but still incomplete) collections of evidence have been published.[20] Both with

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On further probable temple transformations or de-sacralizations under Constantius, see Hahn 2004, 130ff.

[18] Lib. *ep*. 724; cf. *ep*. 828 and *ep.* 1364.

[19] Kunderewicz 1971, with evidence and discussion; Meier 1996.

[20] Deichmann 1939 (republished with additions in 1982); Deichmann – de Labriolle 1954; Spieser 1976 (for Greece); Vaes 1984–1986; Grossmann 1995 (for Egypt); Bayliss 2004 (for Cilicia, but with reference to other areas as well). A new summary catalogue of individual transformations, intended "to follow essentially the same methodology and format as Deichmann", is also planned (Ward-Perkins 2003, 285).

respect to matters of archaeological classification and from a historical perspective, the recent work of Bayliss (2004) makes considerable progress, for he has developed an archaeological typology of temple-transformations (using sub-types to distinguish between immediate and non-immediate transformations of temples into churches) that takes into consideration the amount of space that was taken over for reuse and the degree of architectural alteration and of spoliation of the temple architecture, as well as matters of functional differentiations. But of course in nearly all cases, the Achilles' heel of the archaeological evidence remains the matter of dating—and this problem appears unmistakably more complex than it might at first appear to be. For not only is an early Christian reuse of a temple or of any other building possible without there being any relevant or enduring traces left behind to begin with, but just as possible is a first, profane reuse of a cultic building before it found a new character as a church.[21]

But on the whole, this line of archaeological-architectural research has not taken up the question of what alternatives there were to destruction, delapidation, or Christian reuse of the pagan infrastructure.[22] In this latter regard, literary sources are relevant or significant only by way of exception, since ordinary and necessary changes of function were hardly more notable in any given city than the ongoing urban structural alterations that were simply normal. Such an exception is the evidence cited above (at note 17) from the Chronicle of John Malalas concerning Syrian Antioch, knowledge of which we owe merely to the author's substantial use of a local city chronicle. Otherwise, the documentary papyri (not, however, the epigraphic sources)[23] sometimes make it possible to draw indirect conclusions, as in the case of Oxyrhynchos, about the normalcy of the way in which obsolete structures were dealt with in a city's urban plan, including the places of worship. Even archaeology,

[21] Here the Erechtheion in Athens is possibly a striking example: see Spieser 1976, 310 n. 4, with Bayliss 2004, 59.

[22] Bayliss (2004, 7) justified the focus of his regional study of the phenomenon of the conversion of temples into churches (in Cilicia) with the words, "given that we know of relatively few temples that were converted into anything other than churches"—which is hardly a correct observation. Ward-Perkins (2003, 286) has rightly pointed out the necessity of taking better account of negative evidence (for transformations into churches).

[23] References to the restoration of temples are legion in inscriptions from the early empire, whereas in the late antique period transformations into churches are explicitly recorded only in isolated cases, and then, of course, in triumphalist declarations (see the fine example *ISyriaW* 2498 [Waddington 1870, 569–570] = *CIG* IV 8627 = *OGI* II 610, the first four lines of which appear as the epigraph to Deichmann 1939).

which should be in the best position to provide both a methodical and a substantial corrective and to reveal the entire spectrum of reuses of former temples, seems here to be at a loss. Buildings that were reused for Christian purposes are not only easier to identify among the architectural remains from antiquity, but they also had a far better chance of material survival than did the remains of other types of reuse. By preference, and for a variety of reasons (practical and legal, among others), obsolete temples sooner or later fell victim to stone robbery and spoliation. This circumstance has permanently obscured the archaeological picture of the fate of the ancient temples.

Historians who are able to see the fate of temples in late antiquity in their sources almost exclusively in terms of destruction or transformation into churches are above all victims of the interested presentation (or, sometimes the other way around: of the indifference) of the available ancient authors; and this means, in the main, the Christian literature of the time, with its presuppositions and explanatory models regarding the theological meaning of history, and the rhetorical means that were used to achieve its ends. This is a fact, which also Roger S. Bagnall critically outlines, from a number of perspectives, in the opening chapter of the present volume.

The distortions that result from the viewpoints and "analytical" perspectives offered by the different Christian literary genres (be it Church history, hagiography, or apology) have to do not only with choice of examples, contextualization, and interpretation in dealing with the fate of the temples in late antiquity, or—to put it in more pointedly teleological terms—with the phenomenon "from temple to church". Hardly surprisingly, these texts are also very unreliable, or at least tendentious, in their descriptions of the condition of any given place of pagan worship (and even moreso in their descriptions of the cult that was practised there) at the moment when it was actually taken possession of by Christians, if the "take-over" is not itself a literary fiction. Such considerations have not always been taken sufficiently into account by scholars, or analysed critically enough. For only the putatively uninterrupted vitality of a cult could give an attack, a destruction, or a take-over a spectacular, heroic, or triumphant character, and so the cult in question *had* to be depicted as vital, even regardless of the reality, if necessary.[24]

[24] For a classic example, supposedly from around the middle of the fifth century, see the colourful narration of a pitched struggle to take over and burn an Upper Egyptian

It is often overlooked that the temple-destructions and the transformations of temples into Christian churches that are reported in our sources do not, as a rule, concern any active temples, and often they occurred only after the passage of a long period of time—measurable at least in generations, often even in centuries—between abandonment and then reuse as a Christian church. Immediate reuse as a church building, or else new construction on the site of a destruction, is of course variously suggested or even claimed in the Church-historical tradition (for example, for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem) and especially in the hagiographical literature.[25] None of these traditional claims is archaeologically or otherwise verifiable—and sometimes they can definitely be disproved, as in the case of the great temple of Heliopolis/Baalbek already mentioned above. Furthermore, it was more usual to build a church (or rather just a martyr's shrine, as was mostly the case) within the *temenos*, or perhaps at the edge of the temple platform, and to avoid making use of the main central rooms of the former temple.[26] Possibly Philae represents the only completely unambiguous case of an immediate change-over in cultic use from an active pagan temple to a regular church.[27]

Thus the fundamental question arises what a temple-destruction or, even more problematic, a transformation of a temple into a church in fact signified. What actual and concrete cultic, social, and political situation did such events reflect? But also: precisely what structural operations were undertaken? what immediate ends did the perpetra-

temple to "Gothos" (or "Kothos") in *Pan. Mac. Antae.* 5 (Johnson 1980, 1:29–40 [Coptic text], 2:21–30 [English trans.]; Italian trans. by Orlandi 1981, 170–173; French trans. of a different Coptic version of the same work by Amélineau 1888–1895, 112–118); some elements of this episode are rehearsed by Frankfurter in his contribution to this volume. For a rather careless and strangely naive discussion of the historical value of this story, see Daumas 1983, 3–7; cf. Frankfurter 1998, 19–22, 69–70, and 131–132.

[25] E.g. Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 75ff. On this genre of Christian literature and its value as evidence, see the contributions by Brakke, Frankfurter, and Saradi in this volume.

[26] So the chapel of Babylas in Daphne near Antioch was built, in the middle of the fourth century, in the grove of Apollo, but not in the temple there and not even at all near to it: see Soz. *h. e.* 5.19.12; cf. Jo. Chrys. *pan. Bab.* 2 76ff. (XIV) (*PG* 50, col. 554). Compare the brief description by Deichmann 1939, 108 and 116 (no. 12) (also 1982, 88, referring to Downey 1961, 364 and 387).

[27] On this general problem as seen from the archaeological perspective, see (for Egypt) Grossmann 1995 and also his contribution to this volume; on Philae, see Hahn's contribution to this volume.

tors expect to achieve? and what more far-reaching purposes did they have in view?

Although in systematically collecting the evidence for his foundational works, Deichmann paid some attention to such questions, and thereby made important differentiations in individual cases,[28] in his overall evaluation he nonetheless resorted to a clearly generalizing point of view. This point of view begins first and foremost, and with an architectural-historical intention, by focusing on a specific aspect of the phenomenon "from temple to church" that is (finally) materially realized in the archaeological evidence, in the sense of all those cases in which churches were at one time or another erected or otherwise established inside former temples—regardless of how much time had passed since the original use was given up, or of whether the measures were carried out with an aggressive religious intention, as a symbolic act, or rather for mainly practical or other reasons.[29] In striving for the historically appropriate perspective in which to set the phenomena of "temple to church", we find that there are only a relatively *few* well documented cases that are of really special interest in terms of conflict over religious transformation. All in all, many things point to a conclusion that the mere fact that a temple was reused as a church most often represents a much less spectacular phenomenon—and perhaps also can document religious transformation only to a much more modest extent—than is often assumed. But on the other hand, such a conclusion makes it all the more important that we sort out carefully the evidence that *can* teach us something in this regard, and also that we do our best to learn from that evidence as *much* as we can, from all possibly relevant and informative perspectives. Thus the scientific investigation of the phenomena

[28] Including, for example, the basic general observation that East and West went separate ways in the treatment of the non-Christian religious monumental heritage (Deichmann 1939, 106; cf. pp. 112–113).

[29] It might be of interest to note here that Deichmann's article "Vom Tempel zur Kirche" has little to do with the specific phenomena of "frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern" (early Christian churches in ancient sanctuaries, Deichmann 1939), or even of "Christianisierung der Monumente" (Christianization of the monuments, Deichmann – de Labriolle 1954), but is rather an art- and architecture-historical sketch of the origins and development of, first, the Christian notion of "a church" as a building encompassing a sacral *space* ("Kultraum"), and second, how the Christian church *building* may be seen both as "the genuine and specific creation of early Christian art…a primal creation without precedent", and then also as the support and medium on which and through which "the principal artistic endeavors of late antiquity" were "summed up". These are aspects of the phenomenon "temple to church" that fall beyond the purview of the present volume.

of temple-destruction and temple-conversion in late antiquity must be looked at to a significant degree as a problem of method.

This last point is the one with which the first chapter in our volume begins. In his opening essay (which is based on the opening, public lecture of the colloquium), Roger S. Bagnall discusses fundamental questions of method that arise in any discussion of the pathway "from temple to church". He does this by means of examples from Egypt, which he does not consider to be in any way "extraordinary" over against examples from other regions of the empire. His main concern is the evidence that one can extract from the literary texts, archaeological remains, and documents (above all, the papyri). He makes an urgent appeal to study closely the filter that had a determinative effect on the expression and selection of the transmitted evidence. For the texts, that filter was the location (in various senses of the word), or the specific interests, of the respective authors, who in most cases were Christians. Essential for Bagnall here are the patterns by which reality is constructed through specific literary strategies, as well as the specific description of lines of conflict in binary oppositions (such as "pagan vs. Christian" or "orthodox vs. heretical") that do not adequately reflect the complex regional and local constellations, with their varying interests, forces, and groups. From that starting point, Bagnall registers fundamental doubt with regard to the adequacy of the paradigm "Christianization" as the main force driving the process of transformation. In sum, it must be considered whether the transformation of the sacral landscape of late antiquity might not have been due even to a large degree to other than religious factors, including factors whose impact and effects extended over great periods of time.

The chapters by Ulrich Gotter, David Brakke, Helen Saradi, and David Frankfurter are concerned specifically with discursive creations. Ulrich Gotter and David Brakke take as their starting point temple-destruction as a literary motif. Guiding themes of their essays are the literary genres and literary contexts in which the motif of temple-destruction makes a prominent appearance, and then the semantics of its appearance there.

Gotter focuses on the genre of Church history from Eusebios to Theodoret. What becomes immediately clear is that the relatively compact catalogue of instances of temple-destruction that is rehearsed over and over again in the relevant works of this genre does not so much illuminate the lines of conflict between Christians and pagans as mark out the difference between orthodox and heretical emperors. Orthodox

emperors, so runs the argument, are depicted as inimical to pagans, heretical emperors as neutral, or even marred by heretical sympathies. In a second step, Gotter questions the function of this indirect way of speaking about an emperor's orthodoxy: temple-destruction provides one of the meaningful axes of the "new genre" of Church-historical writing, with the help of which imperial behaviour can be bound up retroactively with religious convictions and seen accordingly as religiously motivated. Against this background, which is meant to characterize the genre as a whole, the different choices made by the individual authors in their respective formulations of the history of the Church are then differentiated and exemplified by means of a single case study, namely the destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria.

Brakke's interest is directed at the sacral landscape from the perspective of Egyptian monasticism. For this purpose he fixes his gaze on the motif of temple-destruction within the Egyptian monastic literature and argues that the sacral-topographical map that emerges from this literature is not exclusively, perhaps not even primarily, characterized by the distinction "Christian vs. pagan". Rather, for the monks' self-perception, or self-presentation, three binary dichotomies are of central importance: city vs. countryside, demon vs. monk, and temple vs. cell. This multi-polar character is the cause of the ambivalence that temple-destruction has within the framework of monastic literature: of course it is extremely worthy and status-enhancing for a desert ascetic to fight with the demons who inhabit the old pagan shrines, but to take part in a confrontation over a shrine located in a city can be an act also of engagement with the world, which thus tends to dislodge ascetic isolation from its position as the specifically monastic source of holiness. Thus the dynamic of the religious transformation in the world of the Egyptian monks is rather the pathway from temple to cell than from temple to church.

The chapters by Helen Saradi and David Frankfurter aim rather at the connection between texts and events. Both essays are concerned with the contexts and the setting of acts of temple-destruction or of attacks on pagan cults, not least in order to be able to evaluate the evidence of the texts appropriately.

Saradi deals broadly with saints' *Lives* from the fourth through seventh centuries. On the basis of especially expressive examples, she points out the panoramic repertoire of motifs specific to these literary works and the prominence of temple-destruction therein. At the same time, she ties the structure of this content to the changing conditions

under which, and also the differing intentions with which, the hagiographic texts were produced. She thereby paints the picture of a thematic development within the genre that was largely dependent on the changing nature of the conflict between pagans and Christians over time. While in the early *Lives*, of the fourth century, the saints' opposition to pagan cultic places appears to be depicted with relatively little violence involved, and as being in close accord with the wishes of the emperor, in texts produced during the fifth century the conflicts become more intense and personal, and in those of the sixth century the pagan resistance becomes markedly marginalized. Viewed thus, it seems possible to discover a reliable connection between the texts and events that lie back of them.

Frankfurter places the motif of iconoclasm in general at the centre of his investigation. He inquires first of all about the meaning that cultic places and idols had in Egypt, in particular as it comes to expression in the *Lives* of saints. From that meaning he derives also the semantics of iconoclastic actions, setting iconoclastic action as it appears in the texts into two broader contexts: on the one hand into the context of the information provided by the archaeological record, and on the other hand into the context of inter-cultural (anthropological) iconoclastic patterns. Here Frankfurter gives special emphasis to the elements of neutralization, purification, and the exorcism of demons. He concludes that hagiographic texts can be used more reliably and less problematically as basic materials for comparative religious studies than as evidence for chronology and historical events in the narrower sense. Used responsibly, they provide essential clues about attitudes that were determinative for actions taken, and about how certain things and actions came to be endowed with meaning.

Stephen Emmel, Johannes Hahn (in his chapter about Philae), Angelos Chaniotis, Doron Bar, and Peter Grossmann turn their particular attention to the events that lie back of the textual representations of those events. By means of individual regional or case studies, these authors focus on specific social environments in various regions of the late antique East.

The focus of Emmel's chapter is a conflict between the charismatic and prophet-like leader of a large monastery in Upper Egypt and a prominent pagan landowner in nearby Panopolis. Emmel's essay in this volume continues earlier work of his on the same subject[30] by

[30] Emmel 2002, 99–113.

introducing newly discovered textual evidence that helps to clarify just what happened between the monk Shenoute and his pagan archenemy Gesios around the turn of the fourth century (according to Emmel's analysis of the chronological evidence).[31] Central to that conflict was a nighttime raid on Gesios's town house, conducted by Shenoute and several of his monks to expose the former provincial governor as a practising pagan: according to Shenoute's statements, he broke into a securely locked room, stole idols that were being honoured there, and then displayed them publicly. The events and Shenoute's narration of them (highly rhetorical and self-interested, of course) are interesting enough—and Shenoute's writings are the only surviving evidence for these events—but perhaps most relevant for the topic of this volume is Shenoute's defence of his actions as being entirely in keeping with imperial legislation against the further use of temples for pagan worship and therefore not only morally right, but also legal. Apparently Shenoute was in danger of being prosecuted for breaking private property laws. The correct reconstruction of the reality behind the rhetoric of Shenoute's texts is not entirely clear, and the problem of interpretive perspective is also touched upon in Emmel's presentation. But in any case, Shenoute's literary legacy is providing an increasingly "thick" dossier of material for further discussion and analysis, both of certain highly expressive events and of the representation of those events in contemporaneous literary texts.

The end of the pagan cult on the temple island of Philae under Justinian, which Hahn investigates in the first of his two contributions to this volume, can claim special attention in a number of ways: it is the only certainly attested case where a pagan cult—even an ensemble of cults!—came to an abrupt end, and then its still active place of worship was immediately converted into a church; the destruction of the cult was motivated by concerns that had to do purely with imperial politics and with people in a neighbouring land (Nubia, to the south); and the Christianization of the place of worship had far-reaching religio-political repercussions in the region. But it is no less remarkable that at Philae the application of religious violence against a pagan cult centre was used at the very same time as a basis for creating an identity for the young local church—but in two completely different versions. Thus

[31] For the purpose of this volume, Emmel has appended to his essay a preliminary edition and translation of Shenoute's work *Let Our Eyes*, an open letter addressed to the people of Panopolis, so that others may judge the evidence for themselves.

the events at Philae reflect the exercise of imperial, regional, and local powers and interests, but they are also relevant for differing modes of literary reception and identity formation.

Chaniotis investigates the dynamics of the transformation of a pagan temple into a church by placing it against the background of its local religious environment. The evidence from Aphrodisias in Asia Minor especially recommends itself, because in very few other places in the empire can the battle lines between religious groups in the fifth and sixth centuries be so precisely perceived as here. For Aphrodisias, Chaniotis sketches a tense competition in which Christianity could by no means lay claim to any automatic precedence. In fact the Jewish community had a strong public presence and continued to attract adherents with notable success up to the end of the fifth century. And the pagans in the city defended themselves with stubborn confidence against conversion as well. In this atmosphere of religious competition, signs took on all the more significance. This is how Chaniotis interprets striking onomastic usages, which were meant to define, delimit, and cement together groups whose members shared a common identity. Under these particular circumstances, it is likely that at least in Aphrodisias the transformation of the central temple—in this case a temple of Aphrodite—into a church meant an immediately confrontational act, laden with significance, undertaken against a cultic group that was still intact.

With his survey of the process of Christianization in Palestine, Bar poses the question whether processes of transformation run their course uniformly in a given region, or if not, what criteria can be used to make the necessary differentiations. In the history of the Holy Land he discerns quite different rates of speed in the process of Christianization, so that even still in the fifth and sixth centuries a more complex situation existed than is normally assumed. Jerusalem, which was transformed into a Christian city relatively early, resolutely, and with help from the highest levels of the government, thus appears as an exception from which no conclusions may be drawn for the rest of the region. In the other cities, the picture was at least less clear and uniform, for there the pagan horizon remained entirely visible and present. And finally, in the countryside of Palestine, even at a place like Mamre, Christianity existed for a long time alongside religious manifestations of completely different origins. In out-of-the-way areas like the cliffs of Hermon, pagan cults could maintain themselves in almost sovereign isolation. In view

of these quite diverse courses of Christianization, Bar sees no reason to estimate the rate of conversion in the Holy Land essentially higher than in other parts of the empire.

Grossmann too poses a fundamental and overarching problem that the path from temple to church raises: with Egypt serving again as an example, he inquires into the technical aspects of destruction and rebuilding and then asks concretely how one dealt with the building in question after the confrontation over it was finished. In a broad survey covering all of Egypt, Grossmann reviews the options that are offered by the material remains and the textual evidence: from the use of fire, the carting away and reuse of debris (spolia) as building materials for other constructions, and the destruction of ornamental decoration through to transformation into a church. From the material remains it becomes clear that, contrary to the assertions of the Christian authors, there was no systematic destruction of the pagan temples in Egypt. What happened to the monuments of paganism depended rather on local circumstances and needs. Under certain circumstances the demolition of a temple could have stretched gradually over centuries. On the whole, the reshaping of an existing building into a church was, in Egypt, the option most rarely chosen.

At the end of this volume, Johannes Hahn's analysis of the destruction of the Alexandrian Serapeum in the year 392 has as its theme *the* religio-political event of the reign of Theodosios I.[32] Contemporaries of the occurrences in Egypt's metropolis near the end of the fourth century perceived them immediately as paradigmatic of the Christian—and state-governmental—policy against the pagan cults, and as emblematic of the empire-wide oppression of paganism. The subsequent ancient literary reception accepted this assessment, and modern scientific research has also agreed with it and so given this event a firmly established place in the handbooks and textbooks concerned with late antiquity. In fact, the processes that culminated in the destruction and occupation of the colossal temple complex can be reconstructed as a striking example of the violent escalation of a conflict over religious space, and they permit a detailed analysis of the combined effect of state and Church powers at work putting anti-pagan religious policy into action on the spot and in a specific local context, but in this case

[32] On the dating of this event, see now HAHN 2006.

in a context that was bound to attract empire-wide attention. Behind the literary focus on the act of destroying the colossal temple complex and its manifold historiographic and hagiographic refractions, there lurk numerous further facets of the phenomenon of a temple-destruction. First, there is clearly the conscious provocation of a religious confrontation on the part of the bishop, and the use of the inevitable eruption of violence as a means for a subsequent suppression of all municipal cults. But then the successive elimination of the pagan opposition and the systematically organized and symbolically staged transformation of the sacral identity of the metropolis only added further aspects to a process that meant, in its sum, the comprehensive Christianization of the public space. The breathtaking consistency and thoroughness of the measures that can be observed in the case of Alexandria in 392 reveals the destruction of the Serapeum to be the consciously orchestrated key event in a far-reaching, programmatic campaign against the pagan tradition, reality, and identity of Egypt's capital city.

Although the Serapeum in Alexandria was not the first temple to be "destroyed" in the long course of transformative events that was set in motion by the conversion of a Roman emperor, namely Constantine, to Christianity, certainly it holds a key position in the history of those events, especially if we understand the term "history" in all its full complexity. For in many ways, the typical (or even stereotyped) conceptions that usually are brought to mind when passing reference is made to the "destruction of the Serapeum" are those that have tended to colour our entire picture of the way(s) in which the pagan monumental heritage was treated in late antiquity. While this perspective is by no means an unimportant one, we hope that the essays collected in this volume will contribute toward placing this perspective, and others, into a still larger perspective that is appropriate to all the relevant phenomena. That said, the reader is now invited to profit from the chapters that follow.

Stephen Emmel
Ulrich Gotter
Johannes Hahn

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CHAPTER TWO

MODELS AND EVIDENCE IN THE STUDY OF RELIGION IN LATE ROMAN EGYPT

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The title of this paper may seem too restrictive for an opening lecture in a colloquium concerned with the entire East of the Roman Empire, in which only half of the papers concern Egypt, and yet simultaneously far too ambitious in its scope. In the course of the colloquium, however, it became clear that the methodological issues that I was trying to confront were broadly relevant across the geographical span covered by the colloquium and to some extent raised fundamental questions about the very formulation of some of the organizers' questions to participants, questions which came back into focus in the lively concluding discussion. This in my view was to be anticipated, because part of my argument is that Egypt is not any more exceptional than anywhere else in the Roman Empire of late antiquity, and that the questions at stake there are broadly applicable, even if the answers vary.

I should begin by recording two rather different debts that this paper owes to the work of other scholars. The greater one is to David Frankfurter's *Religion in Roman Egypt*.[1] This book appeared four years prior to the colloquium in Münster, early in a semester when I was teaching a class on the social context of Egyptian Christianity to a seminar at Union Theological Seminary. It was a great source of stimulation for that seminar. As readers will find, there are many fundamental assumptions and arguments in that book with which I disagree;[2] but it was reading it that led me first to formulate some of the methodological points set out below and to force myself to clarify matters that I had left until then unanalyzed. This is a stimulus for which I remain grateful. The second obligation is to the brilliant conference paper given by

[1] Frankfurter 1998.

[2] Since Frankfurter's book is at many points written in opposition to chapter 8 of Bagnall 1993, this is unavoidable.

Stephen Emmel at a colloquium in Leiden later that same fall entitled "Perspectives on Panopolis," the proceedings of which were published just before the Münster colloquium.[3] The analysis of Shenoute and Gessius—two central characters in a late antique real-life drama—given in that paper embodied and exemplified many of the precise points that I had been thinking about for the preceding months and helped move them from pure abstraction to exemplification. Gessius will come back a number of times in my remarks; but I should in fairness add that Professor Emmel is in no way responsible for what I have made of his analysis.[4]

Models and evidence: they make a nicely balanced pair, but I have never found it rewarding to think of them separately. As a product of the American pragmatist tradition, I tend to assign utility to models only to the extent that they help me to make sense out of both the evidence that exists and the evidence that does not exist.[5] Before turning to more specific subjects, I should say that I remain convinced of the centrality of not only an accurate and critical treatment of the evidence, but serious respect for explaining the contours of that evidence, even though such concern is likely today to be disparaged as "positivism."[6] I cannot

[3] Emmel 2002.

[4] See also Emmel's paper in this volume.

[5] The term "model" is used in a considerable range of meanings, from explanation to Weberian ideal type to middle-level theory. I am speaking here mainly of the last of these.

[6] Misuse of evidence is, regrettably, a pervasive feature of Frankfurter's book. One among many striking examples, and relevant to the subject of the present volume, is the claim (Frankfurter 1998, 122) that the Thoërion of Oxyrhynchos was still active in 462, "when a symposium is to be held in it. The space evidently continued to maintain at least some holiness. The Thoërion had been the site of ritual dinners through the third century, so a symposium may not have constituted a break with the temple's ritual tradition." This was evidently borrowed without verification from Quaegebeur – Clarysse – Van der Maele 1985, 225, which Frankfurter cites. In reality, the document in question (*PSI* III 175) is a lease of a *symposion* in a house located in the sanctuary of Thoëris for an indefinite period on a monthly basis. A *symposion* in such a context simply refers to a room in a house, often used for habitation but sometimes for other purposes; see Husson 1983, 267–271. The lease provides no information about the intended use of this room, and there is no basis for the assertion that a "symposium" was to be held in it. References to sections of cities by the names of temples located there are *not* evidence for the continued activity of those temples. A beautiful example occurs in a lease from Hermopolis, dated to 555, in which one of the lessors is "the Holy Martyrion of the Three Holy Martyrs of the Holy Sarapeion": the Sarapeion, which has picked up the title "holy" from its newer occupants (the three youths in the furnace of Nebuchadnezzar, from Daniel 3), is not validated as an operative pagan sanctuary in 555 by such an attestation. This papyrus (P.Vindob. inv. G. 13288) has been published by me as *P.Horak* 10 (see Bagnall 2004, 54–57, p. 7).

resist quoting Robert Darnton's description of the late Lawrence Stone, a prominent historian of early modern British society:[7]

> He understood history in the British manner, as argument from evidence—endless argument, from boundless information available in archives. Although he loved to pilfer, as he put it, from the social sciences and claimed some mastery of theory, Lawrence conceived of knowledge as ultimately grounded in facts.… He did not use "positivism" as a pejorative. He even described himself as "the last of the Whigs." Far from suffering from epistemological *Angst*, he scorned postmodernism and warned that historians would sell their birthright if they mixed fact and fiction.

I shall begin with a subject where models and evidence are inextricably related. This is the fact that our literary evidence for the entire subject of this colloquium is, with rare exceptions, made up of Christian literature. Indeed, this is true not merely for the destruction or reuse of temples, but for the entire shape and character of the relationship between Christian religion and the traditional religions of the Eastern Mediterranean world in late antiquity. Except for a handful of intellectuals, who cannot safely be taken as representative of anyone but themselves, we have only Christian depictions of—of what? Even the choice of a term like struggle, renewal, destruction, transition, or anything else betrays an evaluation made possible by looking back on the events of late antiquity, something not possible for contemporaries.

This fundamental characteristic of our evidence should be a matter of deep concern for all of us. There is, to be sure, documentary and archaeological evidence to contribute to the dossier, with its own set of opportunities and difficulties, to which I shall come in due course. But the difficulties involved in interpreting a literature that is largely rhetorical in character, whether in sermons or hagiography, are very great, and in my view they have not been taken seriously enough by many scholars working in late antiquity. That is, I find much scholarship that uses Christian sources to reconstruct the state of paganism and, even more, of Christian-pagan relations to be remarkably reticent about asking rude questions concerning the objectives and methods of the ancient Christian writers who created these texts. On some fronts this has begun to change; for example, Malcolm Errington has recently demonstrated that Christian writers, and non-Christian writers as well, no matter how much they talk about imperial religious policies, are

[7] Darnton 2001, 382–383.

almost without exception completely ignorant of the actual imperial legislation on the subject of religion issued in their own period or that preceding them.[8]

The general reluctance to deconstruct Christian literature is a curious phenomenon, one which seems to me strikingly at odds with the otherwise widespread suspicion, in our postmodern age, of the trustworthiness of Christian sources, indeed of all sources. Why is it not "triumphalist"—the most vicious accusation one can level nowadays—to swallow whole a Christian writer's claims about the strength of the pagan opposition that has been beaten down? Arietta Papaconstantinou has pointed to the large element of exaggeration in Christian claims about the destruction of temples.[9] Is it really so much more difficult to understand that magnification of the strength of the opposition is largely a rhetorical ploy to exaggerate the accomplishments of one's hero or, for that matter, oneself? I find the tendency to accept such statements at face value naive in the extreme. Such texts are indeed historical evidence, but evidence for themselves as cultural artifacts and for the author's own context and objectives; use of them as evidence for some other historical events that they purport to describe must proceed with extreme caution.

It is true that the past generation has shown signs of the rise of a more critical attitude. In a recent article, Ewa Wipszycka has described the point from which this change of attitude proceeded.[10] It is worth quoting her remarks, because she knows the Christian literature of Egypt as well as any scholar and has used it with care and insight in a series of recent studies:[11]

> Il fut un temps, pas tellement éloigné du présent, où l'historien exploitait à son aise les textes hagiographiques, sans se soucier de leur caractère littéraire. Généralement admise comme licite, cette approche semblait particulièrement justifiée dans les cas où l'on savait quand et où le texte donné était né et où l'on pouvait avoir l'impression que le récit n'était pas trop chargé de ces *topoi* qui traînent à travers la littérature hagiographique. Une fois les miracles mis de côté, le reste des informations contenues

[8] Errington 1997b. Ulrich Gotter (in this volume) has suggested that the "ignorance" is in fact part of a narrative strategy in some authors.

[9] Papaconstantinou 2001, 244–245. She notes acutely that a distinction is to be made between the earlier sources, where competition between religions is still a live issue, and later ones, where competition with other shrines is more prominent.

[10] Wipszycka 2002, 61.

[11] Many of them now collected in Wipszycka 1996.

> dans la vie d'un saint pouvait être directement utilisé pour reconstituer, sinon la biographie du saint, du moins les *realia* de l'époque où la vie avait été composée.

Wipszycka follows this description of the benighted attitudes of the past (but hardly only the past) with a far more critical engagement with the life of John the Almoner, in which she demonstrates that the author did not actually know the subject of the life and that there is thus no eyewitness value to be attributed to his statements. What then, she asks, are we to make of the purported information about the economic life of the Alexandrian patriarchate contained in the life? Her own method, which she explicitly describes, is to compare this information with our other evidence for the same subject, to see if it is inherently credible. She concludes, "Son ouvrage [the life of John] est certainement une source précieuse, mais pour pouvoir utiliser ses informations, il faut effectuer continuellement des opérations critiques, il faut examiner de façon critique son récit chapitre par chapitre, phrase par phrase."[12]

There is, however, a logical problem inherent even in Wipszycka's critical method which she does not consider, one of circularity. In short, the information in the life of John the Almoner is usable only on her view if it is confirmed by other, more reliable, evidence. But if it is, then is it of any real use? In other words, it can be trusted only when it tells us what we already know and cannot be used for the addition of any new knowledge, or at least no new knowledge that challenges anything we already knew. It is not of any independent value for the economic condition of the patriarchate in John's time. What it can tell us is the interests, motives, and strategies of its author, and what that author thought he might say without his readers finding the background color implausible. At best, then, it tells us about what readers and hearers might have found plausible in their own time. Given the gross distortions published every day in the contemporary press, to an audience with far readier access to information than those who would have heard or read a hagiographic work of this sort in late antiquity, that constraint of plausibility can hardly be taken to be very strong. In general, information that is not the focus of the narrative is more likely to be reliable than anything relevant to the point the author is making, but it is impossible to obtain reliable information by deciding that some numbers in the life are inherently possible and others are not.

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[12] Wipszycka 2002, 80.

The *appropriate* use of literary works is a point on which Emmel's treatment of Shenoute and Gessius advances the level of sophistication markedly, as he shows that the label "pagan" affixed to Gessius was not, as most scholars have assumed, an element in Gessius's self-presentation, but instead a description that Shenoute kept insisting on applying to Gessius despite the latter's own profession of Christianity—part of the author's strategy in local politics and in his writings, rather than part of any independent reality. I would indeed go farther and ask how secure the inference is that Gessius had *ever* actually seen himself or portrayed himself as a pagan at any stage of his life. This point returns in Emmel's paper in this volume.

Two fundamental aspects of our model, whether stated or unstated, of the religious world of fourth-century Panopolis emerge from the questioning of the rhetorical, self-serving character of Shenoute's portrayal of his opponent as a pagan. The first is the recognition that the kind of strategy employed by Shenoute is characteristic of Christian polemical discourse across time and space. I cannot enter here into a broad exploration of this question, but Christian polemicists have long been fond of depicting their adversaries in extreme terms. A mild doctrinal disagreement suffices to label the opponent a heretic, a larger one earning the term pagan or, in the case of some doctrinal tendencies, a Jew. These labels are terms of abuse, not sober historical or even theological description, and we will be prudent to regard them as evidence for the writer's rhetorical strategy rather than for the self-identification of the targets, let alone some supposed objective fact.

We should also bear in mind a second characteristic of Christian writing, its fondness for certain types of stories. Averil Cameron has written persuasively about the tendency of Christian texts to tell "stories people want" to hear.[13] These narratives form a domain of discourse popular in preaching and instruction. The most appropriate object in the study of such stories is not factual information contained in the narratives but the social role of the narratives themselves. It is urgent that we should look at the hagiographic literature from the point of view of its own imperatives, rather than according to the stories it tells a status like that of a defendant in Anglo-American law, believable until proven false. Several of the papers in this volume, indeed,

[13] Cameron 1991, 89–119.

identify elements in the temple-destruction narratives as playing a role in intra-Christian discourse.

More generally, Christianity in its diachronic sweep is a necessary context for the reading of the Christian sources of late antiquity. They cannot be seen as peculiar to a provincial world of limited duration. The authors in question would certainly have rejected any such limiting description, seeing themselves as the heirs of the earlier patristic writers and part of the catholic church. That Shenoute had an excellent education, particularly in rhetoric, is by now widely accepted, and he, like other writers, must be taken as part of a much larger phenomenon of Mediterranean antiquity with heirs in much later periods as well. I do not, in saying this, mean to suggest the existence of uniformity in Christianity across time any more than in antiquity; far from it. But some types of argument seem deeply embedded in Christianity and to survive differences in time, place, and doctrines. One of them is precisely the presumption that in fact Christianity is essentially characterized by doctrinal uniformity and that maintaining such uniformity is of vital importance. Deviations are then treated as aberrant. Far from being merely an "ideal in Coptic sermons," as Frankfurter dismissively put it,[14] the drive for unity and uniformity is a central ideological tenet and motive force in the history of Christianity. The fact that in reality Christianity as a movement has, from its earliest days, been characterized by diversity of doctrine in no way negates the centrality of debate that takes for granted that there is only one true set of doctrines.

That, then, is one interpretive model and axis: the Christian texts of late antique Egypt and other lands of the Greek world seen as part of a continuum in space and time with the works of other Christian writers and thinkers. The other model is equally important: the understanding of the environment in which these writers worked as part of the larger Roman world, and the insistence that the eastern Roman Empire is the correct framework for analysis. This is one important respect in which I find Frankfurter's book to mark a large step backward, in its insistence on the peculiarity of Egypt: "Egypt in almost every way stands apart from the rest of the Mediterranean and Near Eastern worlds."[15] That is a posture once widely adopted in historical studies of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, but it has collapsed in the

[14] Frankfurter 1998, 7.
[15] Frankfurter 1998, 14.

last generation or so under the onslaught of abundant evidence that Egypt was no more different from other parts of the Roman Empire than any other province was.[16] I am prepared to argue that this is true to a large degree even in the Hellenistic period. But whether that is right or not, it is abundantly clear that Egypt in the fourth to sixth centuries was an integral part of the late antique world, and it cannot be treated as an aberration to be analyzed outside the larger picture of the contemporary Roman world.[17] This is as true in religion as in any other domain of life. There is certainly nothing distinctive about the fact "that religion in Roman Egypt was essentially a localized phenomenon."[18] This was in the very nature of ancient religion and forms the empire-wide basis for the stresses of the religious environment of the third century, when Christianity was far from the only movement seeking to construct a more universal religious framework.[19] As Leslie MacCoull put it, "In our salutary awareness of the local particularity of Egypt we do well to remember that it was Hellenism that gave the local, the particular, the chance to flower and the ability to endure,"[20] citing Glen Bowersock's *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*.

I shall exemplify the intersection of these two interpretive frames—Christianity and the late Roman Empire—by returning to Gessius. Emmel has now shown beyond any doubt, contrary to the skepticism of earlier scholars, that Gessius the local magnate in Panopolis attacked by Shenoute is to be identified with Flavius Aelius Gessius, the *praeses Thebaidis* (the regional governor) of 376–378, just a few years before Shenoute became abbot of his monastery (probably ca. 385).[21] It is worth thinking about the context of Gessius's governorship. It fell under the reign of Valens, an emperor whose ecclesial alignments and theological preferences, aimed essentially at preserving the homoian stance (that is, seeing Christ's nature as like the Father's rather than identical to it) widely accepted in the East under Constantius, caused him to be libeled by the hard-core Nicene adherents as an Arian—but who was certainly for some time an enemy of Athanasius and his

[16] I have dealt with this issue briefly in Bagnall 1995, 11–12. The topic is a central theme in Criscuolo – Geraci 1989.

[17] On this point see MacCoull 1992, 74 (with earlier bibliography) and Bagnall 1995.

[18] Frankfurter 1998, 8.

[19] See Rives 1995 for the interplay of local and imperial in Carthage.

[20] MacCoull 1992, 74.

[21] Emmel 2002, 101–105.

supporters.[22] Gessius's time in office, in fact, coincides with Valens's last years, which ended with the emperor's death at Adrianople on 9 August 378. Athanasius's successor Peter, expelled under Valens, had returned to Alexandria in 378 after Valens left Antioch to meet the Goths, according to Jerome on the basis of an edict of toleration issued by Valens. Once Gratian appointed Theodosius, a supporter of Nicaea from the West, to take charge of the East, homoousian Christianity was once more securely in power.[23]

Emmel has called attention to the fact that Gessius appears never to have obtained any higher official position after his term as *praeses*.[24] The conclusion seems evident that Gessius was aligned with Valens and the homoeans, and that after the death of the emperor and the change in religious policy in the eastern court, Gessius no longer had any source of patronage. Theodosius had few links to the existing power networks of the East and no incentive to favor someone like Gessius. In connection with this it seems worth reconsidering the relevance of the statement quoted by Shenoute as having been made by Gessius, "Jesus was not divine" or (to be literal) "Jesus was not a god."[25] This slogan is used by Shenoute as a weapon to accuse Gessius of paganism, but it could perfectly well be instead a short-form sloganistic version of a Christian theological position—adoptionist or subordinationist, Emmel has suggested, but perhaps one would instead say, from a neo-Athanasian polemical perspective, "Arian" or something close to it. Such an affiliation would make good sense for a man who won patronage under Valens. "Arian" itself, of course, was a "term of abuse," as Barnes has remarked, pointing out that "no fourth-century thinker who is normally regarded as an 'Arian' or 'Neo-Arian' would ever have applied this term to himself."[26] Indeed, the contents of the term even in Athanasian invective are variable over time.[27] In fact, even Athanasius's opponents, in the synodical letter written by the eastern bishops in 343 after their departure from Serdica, stigmatized "Christ is not God" as heretical:

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[22] See Errrington 1997a for the ecclesiastical politics of this period.
[23] See Barnes 1993, 180–182 for a brief summary.
[24] Emmel 2002, 102–103.
[25] See Emmel 2002, 99.
[26] Barnes 1993, 15.
[27] Barnes 1993, 134–135.

> Those who say that the Son is from "that which was not," or is from another *hypostasis* and not from God, or that there was a time or period when he was not, the holy catholic church condemns as heretics. Similarly also, those who say that there are three Gods, or that Christ is not God, or that before the ages he was neither Christ nor Son of God, or that the Father and Son and Holy Spirit are the same, or that the Son is unbegotten, or that the Father did not beget the Son by his choice or will, the holy and catholic church anathematizes.[28]

Note that those who say that Christ is not God are not denounced by the bishops as pagans, but as heretics. In this case, the imperial politics and the larger currents of Christian polemics converge to provide a legitimate and Christian explanation for a remark of Gessius used by Shenoute as evidence of paganism. In case anyone thinks that it is unlikely that high-level imperial politics would have affected a provincial governorship of this mid-level sort, I remind you of the case of Abinnaeus, commander of a modest military installation on the edge of the Fayyum in the middle of the fourth century, who had great difficulty with the anti-Athanasian prefect Valacius, ending only with the prefect's death; Abinnaeus obtained security in his position only after the imperial order for Athanasius's restoration, and just before Athanasius's actual return to Alexandria in 346. Barnes has plausibly argued that Abinnaeus was an Athanasian partisan. Certainly it would be a mistaken undervaluation of the pervasiveness of patronage in late Roman society to fail to see that governorships were closely linked to higher political developments.[29] Jill Harries has recently pointed out how vulnerable such governors could be to the attacks of local ruling elites.[30]

Now, it is time to turn from literary to documentary and archaeological sources. I shall take first the archaeological evidence. It is in this domain that my uneasiness at the concept of "From Temple to Church" (the theme of the colloquium and of this volume) arises most concretely. Although there are helpful ambiguities in the phrasing of this title, the manner in which the questions posed to participants were phrased led me to think that my concern was justified; for example, "What was the temporal relationship between abandonment, destruction, or closure of the shrines, and their transformation into Christian

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[28] Translation by Barnes 1993, 75, combining versions (see p. 261 n. 28).
[29] Barnes 1993, 96.
[30] Harries 1999, 170.

churches?" The question struck me as unnecessarily teleological; it implies taking for granted a directionality and a relationship that to my mind are at best a hypothesis to be tested and more likely are a minor element in the overall situation.

What I mean by this is that on the whole the reuse of temples and their compounds for purposes other than the cults to which they were originally dedicated seems to me to have no obvious relationship to the building of churches; these do not appear to be closely connected topics. Where we have sufficient evidence to establish the approximate date of the reuse of temple spaces—and this is true in only a minority of the temples[31]—it comes sometimes at a date before the building of identifiable churches began in Egypt, at other times far later. Abandonment and reuse are separate issues.

Now I know that many critics have been outraged by my picture of an early decline of institutionalized Egyptian religion,[32] but however much room there may be for disagreement about how far there still were active pagan cult centers in the fourth century, there is no way of evading the fact that major temples like the Triphieion across from Panopolis or the temple of Luxor were taken over by the Roman government for official or military purposes during the third century. These reuses took place at a time when Christianity was still disapproved of, and from time to time repressed, by that same government. I would thus rephrase the question to ask instead how far Egyptian temples were reused for *any* purpose once they were no longer active cult centers, along what timeline such reuse took place, what the new purposes were, and whether those purposes themselves can be chronologically stratified. This will in the end bring us to the question of when and how some cult places were reused as churches, but it will avoid the tendency to assume from the start that such Christian reuse was normal or to accept too casually the common—but sloppy—modern assumption that once a place was regarded as holy it always remained so.

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[31] The same is true of destructions, unfortunately. A textbook example is provided by Schmid 2001, where there is scarcely any evidence for the destruction of a temple of the imperial cult at Eretria, but a priori grounds lead to "on balance we would prefer to see the destruction of the temple at Eretria as falling later, within the 5th c., or even later" (Schmid 2001, 141): this despite the fact that there is only one coin in the debris later than 300, and that probably belongs to Constantius II.

[32] Even so otherwise sympathetic a critic as Carrié 1995, 324–325.

I have said enough in print about the interpretation of papyri that I do not need to remark at length on that subject here.[33] One thing that does need emphasis, however, is that the silences of the record need to be taken as seriously as the presences. One often hears or reads that it is simply a matter of the chance of survival that we do or do not have evidence of something. This is untrue. The patterns of preservation of evidence are not simply a matter of randomness. On the contrary, they reflect deep patterns: in choices about what to record in writing; in ancient treatment of papyrus documents, both in retention and in disposal; and in significant facts about the history of the archaeology of Roman Egypt. All of these are, in principle, capable of elucidation, and taken together they determine the broad contours of our evidence. That is not to say that at present we understand all of these patterns, for we do not; nor is it to give chance no room at all for operation within those contours. But it is to say that we must try to understand these patterns, and it is to claim that chance cannot be given nearly as large a role as is commonly supposed.[34]

Of course we must not suppose that the documents, either epigraphic or papyrological, give us some kind of photographic snapshot of ancient society. For reasons I have discussed in detail elsewhere, this is not the case, and I do not suppose that there is now anyone who thinks so, any more than serious archaeologists operate on a "Pompeii hypothesis" about their sites—that is, the notion that ancient cities were abandoned just as they stood in the midst of life.[35] But accepting that the documentation was and is selective does not give us license either to avoid thinking about the value and limits of the evidence or simply to dismiss it when it is inconvenient for preconceived theories.

To add a bit of concreteness to these remarks: for the fourth century we are extremely well informed about some aspects of the public administration of the cities, reasonably well informed about the administration of villages, and adequately instructed about some areas of agriculture and taxation in the villages, although mainly the villages of the Fayyum.[36] Private correspondence is well represented from

[33] Bagnall 1993, 4–13; 1995.

[34] I have explored some of these issues in the Gray Lectures for the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge (May 2003) and plan to return to them in a future book.

[35] See, e.g., Morris 2002, 53.

[36] The reader will find sufficient documentation for most of the generalizations in this paragraph in Bagnall 1993.

Oxyrhynchos and Hermopolis, but very poorly known for the villages, with the single exception of Kellis, in the Dakhla Oasis. We also know quite a bit about some monastic milieus and can see an early dissenting view of the Athanasian establishment. For the fifth century, our documentation is much worse. The reasons for this situation are still not clear, but the consequences certainly include the need for a great deal more circumspection in generalizing about any matter concerning this century.

These facts all have important consequences for the kinds of information we can expect to find about religious life. I shall give only a couple of examples, but the kind of analysis presented could readily be expanded to other topics. The very uneven presence of private correspondence is one key point. The evidence for active and hardly concealed Manichaean activity in the Dakhla Oasis in the third quarter of the fourth century, for example, is something that we could hardly have guessed without the Kellis letters, especially the Coptic ones (*P.Kellis* V), although there are slight clues in the Kellis Agricultural Account Book (*P.Kellis* IV Gr. 96). The humdrum cohabitation of paganism and Christianity in the Theophanes correspondence is equally striking for a somewhat earlier period. We must suppose that if we had more such material we would find equally unexpected insights. In the area of civic administration, by contrast, Oxyrhynchos, Hermopolis and Panopolis ought to be giving us a fairly representative picture. It would be far more astonishing to discover a lot of new information concerning otherwise unknown civic priesthoods, for example, or to find that our picture of the expenditure of public and euergetic funds was significantly mistaken, than it would be to discover something strikingly new about individual religious practices or the presence of lightly-institutionalized sects. It is for this reason that it is impossible to dismiss the significance of the evidence for the movement of funds from religious to civic purposes in the third century.[37]

This point may be connected with the observations made earlier about Gessius to emphasize that the documents probably give us a fair,

[37] Contrast Frankfurter 1998, 75 ("one cannot extrapolate anything more from this evidence than the most general reflection of economic hardships"), apparently ignorant of the large sums being spent at precisely this period for civic construction; see particularly Drew-Bear 1997 and Van Minnen 2002 on Hermopolis. (The fact that the Hermopolitan expenditures were necessitated by war damage in no way diminishes the fact that the city was capable of raising enough funds to repair that damage, in this case—as Van Minnen emphasizes—by taxation rather than by euergetism.)

even if very incomplete, picture of the state of things in the sphere of public power. The Roman state was undoubtedly not as strong and effective as a modern one, but on the whole I think the documentary evidence gives us a sense of it as nearly omnipresent, even if only through local governments, in possession of detailed documentation about the population and its property, and capable of ensuring that the reins of power were in the hands of those in favor with the current imperial government. The degrees of separation between the tenant farmer and the emperor were probably fewer than five.

These observations reinforce my earlier emphasis on Roman Egypt as an integral part of the Roman world. We are not dealing with an isolated, undeveloped society with local traditions newly in contact with metropolitan ones. Far from it. Egypt in the fourth century had behind it a millennium of foreign domination, consistently exercised by developed, paper-producing bureaucracies. The same is true of Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and for the most part of Mesopotamia too.

Nor can any of these countries be looked at as if they existed in a timeless present. This is, I believe, the most important respect in which my framework for looking at religion in late antiquity differs from Frankfurter's. In my view, his anthropological interpretive lens tends to collapse time and to result in an ahistorical approach, where much attention is given, for example, to Egyptian religion in the New Kingdom,[38] but the Ptolemaic period is virtually ignored. The relationship between city and country, perhaps most centrally from the point of view of the history of Egyptian religion, is treated as if it were static throughout the Roman period, when in reality it changed continuously and materially between the first and fourth centuries.[39]

The point of view that I am arguing here is not identical with the rejection of anthropology that Leslie MacCoull propounded with great

[38] For example, the use of New Kingdom evidence in Frankfurter 1998, 98 to demonstrate a practice "which emerges only idiosyncratically from the texts and archaeological sites," i.e., for which there is no evidence from the period under discussion.

[39] Nowhere is this more striking than in Frankfurter's omission of funerary practices, whose "vivid continuity throughout the Roman and Coptic periods" he alleges (Frankfurter 1998, 10). In reality, funerary practices underwent dramatic change during this period. Compare Kaper 2001, 131: "There were in fact profound changes taking place in this sector of religion. In fact, it is especially in the funerary beliefs of the Roman period that the complex interaction of the Egyptian tradition with Hellenistic ideas became clearly visible in the art, architecture and material culture as well as in the ideas expressed in the texts."

vigor a decade ago,[40] in response to Deborah Hobson's equally strong argument for a greater use by papyrologists of models derived from anthropology. MacCoull, although perfectly conscious of the key role of change in history, was intent on emphasizing the entire Mediterranean world, but particularly of course the eastern Mediterranean, as *the* appropriate context for the study of late antique Egypt. She was led by this emphasis to downplay the value of the study of Egypt over the *longue durée*, in part because such approaches tend to shy away from change in favor of durable patterns of life. For my part, as I have said on other occasions, I do not see a need to choose between these axes; I find both rewarding in different ways and see no reason to impoverish our studies with an unnecessary choice. But it is true that the historian cannot shy away from change.

A few more words about anthropology may be worthwhile. Although this discipline is generally classified with the social sciences, it is sometimes today referred to as one of the humanistic social sciences, in the company of history. Although this seems intended almost as a compliment, what it often means is that anthropology is, like literary criticism, interpretive in the sense that anthropologists present viewpoints that are not capable of disproof. There are historians who see their craft as analogous, and of course history is in an important sense an interpretive activity. Facts do not speak for themselves, nor do we encounter them without a conceptual framework. But, like Lawrence Stone, I think it is a blunder to think that history is no more than that. There *is* evidence, and not all of it is merely a construct. This evidence needs to be used as far as possible to attempt to control hypotheses.[41]

It may be helpful to look at the question of change from the standpoint of another province. I quote from Seth Schwartz's recent book on the impact of Roman imperialism on Judaism. After pointing out that most scholars have seen the political impact of the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem as mainly an internal Jewish matter, Schwartz argues, in contrast, that the implications of direct Roman rule were great:[42]

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[40] MacCoull 1992.

[41] For a discussion of the differences between scientific and literary discourse, and the affinity of cultural anthropology with the latter, see (from a Popperian perspective) Medawar 1982, 42–61.

[42] Schwartz 2001, 111.

> To be sure, the government did nothing to prevent Jews from patronizing their native legal experts for advice and arbitration. Yet by failing to recognize their jurisdiction, they made them effectively powerless to compete with the Roman courts and the arbitration of Jewish city councillors and landowners for most purposes. We may in a general way compare the Palestinian situation with the deleterious effects on the native priesthood of the (far less radical) Severan reforms of the ancient nome system in Egypt: the transformation of the old nome capitals into more or less normal Graeco-Roman cities, in which both political power and religious authority were concentrated, apparently seriously undermined the financial well-being of the rural temples and the authority of their clergy.

Schwartz thus sees the actions of the Roman state, and of those persons and bodies carrying out its wishes at a local level, as decisive for many aspects of Jewish society from the second century of our era onward. He argues, in fact, that the rabbis occupied positions of far less influence than is commonly claimed today, and that Roman actions were responsible for the state of affairs. It is important to point out that the Romans were not necessarily, or even probably, seeking this outcome when they instituted direct rule and its trappings, any more than Septimius Severus was interested in weakening the temples of villages like Karanis or Soknopaiou Nesos (both in the Fayyum) when he granted municipal charters to the Egyptian metropoleis. But consequences followed all the same. If ever there was a society that practiced resistance to Roman power, it was Jewish Palestine. But Schwartz's book makes it clear just how modest the impact of *religious* resistance was once the political revolts were ended; and even the rise to prominence of new structures in Judaism in late antiquity was again the product of actions taken by an external power.

If this is correct, and I think it is, it seems very implausible that resistance, in the sense popularized by anthropology, is of any value as a concept for interpreting religious change in Roman Egypt, at least down to the fourth century. It represents in my view quite the wrong set of questions. The distribution of power in Egyptian society changed substantially from Augustus to Constantine, and the village temples and their priests were major losers in this change. So, I believe, were the urban temples, perhaps in large part because the newly-constituted urban elites of the Severan period concentrated their resources on competitive civic public life rather than religious institutions. To the degree that religion figured at all in their priorities, it was in the form of the constitution of a world-class set of athletic competitions, which absorbed resources and energy on a large scale.

All of this involved neither any necessary hostility to traditional religion on the part of this elite nor any advocacy by them of an alternative. Even if one inclines to a high estimate of Christianity's numerical importance and institutional development in the second half of the third century, it is not likely to have played much of a role in the changes that I have been sketching.

What I think is most important in all of this is not any particular view of the rate at which the temples declined, nor any specific estimate of the trajectory of Christianity. What is central is a rejection of the view of their relationship in simple binary terms, a discarding of the idea that religious history in this period is a zero-sum game with two players.[43] If we can free ourselves from this simpleminded notion, we can look at issues like the abandonment of the traditional uses of temples without presuming that Christianity is the cause.[44] It is indeed a curiosity and a paradox that those scholars most desperate to be seen shunning any hint of Christian triumphalism have been incapable of imagining that the decline of the temples is not driven by Christianity.[45] On the contrary, both religious traditions—or, better, one might say all three, for the formation of late antique Judaism comes about in the same environment[46]—were profoundly affected by the political realities of the times, and every question concerning religious change must be looked at with a keen sense of the impact of politics and political change in particular.

How far we can distinguish a sphere of private piety and religious practice separable from that of public manifestations of religion is harder to say. Views on this are evidently shaped by our conceptions of private life, indeed how far we think such a concept is viable for antiquity. To return to Gessius once more, it seems to me in no way implausible that his professed, and perhaps believed, Christian allegiance (even if perhaps only as a catechumen, as Ulrich Gotter suggested during discussion) coexisted with practices that to a more professional and less tolerant Christian eye were incompatible with that allegiance.

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[43] This emphasis in Bagnall 1993 was at least understood by Gascou 1996, 348.

[44] It is well known that the Herulian invasion (267 c.e.) is responsible for much of the decline of temples in Greece, for example; cf. Schmid 2001, 140 with references.

[45] The self-contradictions in Kaper 2001, 131–132 in this respect are remarkable.

[46] See Chaniotis (in this volume) on Judaism as the third major force in the religious life of Aphrodisias in this period. The role of Judaism in late antique Egypt was probably not as large as in Asia Minor, but there was certainly a significant recovery from the depths that followed the suppression of the Trajanic revolt.

In general, however, I think we are still far from a real understanding of the extent and nature of home religious observance, particularly of how far it was tied to temple cults in the Roman period.[47] Nor do we yet have a satisfactory account of religious change over the millennium from the Saites to the fourth century. Much of the material for such a study lies in personal names, and many of the elements were traced in the work of the late Jan Quaegebeur, but there is a great deal still to be done. Just to give one example, names formed on the god Shai scarcely exist before the Roman period but are wildly popular *in* that period.[48] What, if any, is the connection between the rise of popular cults of this kind and the visible decline of the large temples? Many questions of this kind could be asked, and I do not know what the answers would be. But if we want to understand the context of the abandonment, the destruction, or the reuse of temples, we cannot avoid focusing our study of Egyptian religion, and of religion in other parts of the eastern Mediterranean, on change rather than on continuity.

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[47] Kaper 2001, 129 points out that Frankfurter's description of cult in the home is not based on evidence.

[48] And, indeed, survive the coming of Christianity like a number of other pagan names thanks to the existence of a revered monk bearing the name, witness the monasteries of Bishoi (= Psois), one in Wadi Natrun and another across from Panopolis.

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CHAPTER THREE

RECHTGLÄUBIGE—PAGANE—HÄRETIKER. TEMPELZERSTÖRUNGEN IN DER KIRCHENGESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG UND DAS BILD DER CHRISTLICHEN KAISER*

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Die Gattung der Kirchengeschichte gilt traditionell—und zurecht—als unschätzbare Fundgrube für Nachrichten über die Zerstörung heidnischer Tempel in der Spätantike. In der Tat wären die Konflikte zwischen Christen und Heiden in den Metropolen des Ostens ohne die Überlieferung der christlichen Historiographie kaum faßbar: Paradigmatische Auseinandersetzungen wie die um das Serapeion in Alexandria, das Apollonheiligtum in Daphne oder um den Aphroditetempel in Heliopolis ließen sich kaum erzählen oder diskutieren, und die konstantinischen Kirchenbauten an den heidnischen Kultplätzen in Mambre und Jerusalem würden einzig auf Eusebs problematisches Zeugnis in der *Vita Constantini* verwiesen bleiben. Die historische Prominenz dieser Fälle sicherte auch ihren literarischen Darstellungen erhebliche Aufmerksamkeit in der Forschung. So führte etwa die Differenz zwischen den überlieferten Versionen unvermeidlich zu Fragen nach dem Quellenwert und den Vorlagen der einzelnen Autoren.[1]

Diese Sicht auf die Werke, vom Gegenstand auf die literarische Bearbeitung zurück, ist durchaus legitim. In den folgenden Überlegungen werde ich allerdings eine andere—gewissermaßen komplementäre—Perspektive einnehmen und von der (prekären) Verbindung zwischen dem historischen Geschehen und seiner Darstellung weitgehend abstrahieren. Statt dessen wird es nahezu ausschließlich um die Bedeutung der Tempelzerstörung für die Texte selbst gehen, also um Tempelzerstörung als

* Zu besonderem Dank für Lektüre und Diskussion des Aufsatzes bin ich Bernd Isele verpflichtet.

[1] Vgl. dazu jetzt Hahn 2004, 85–92 und Hahn in diesem Band.

„literarisches Motiv". Die Schlüsselfrage ist damit nicht der Realitätsgehalt der Darstellung, sondern der Sinn, den das Motiv im Rahmen des Werks bzw. der literarischen Gattung entfaltet. Kurz: Was konnte und sollte mit der Präsentation von Tempelzerstörungen in der christlichen Historiographie erreicht werden?

Für diese Perspektive erscheint eine Begrenzung des Untersuchungsgegenstandes auf die Werke des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts sinnvoll: In den etwa eineinhalb Jahrhunderten zwischen Euseb und Theodoret hatte sich eine neue und kompakte Gattung mit eigenen Gesetzen herausgebildet, die formal und inhaltlich klar umrissen war. Die erste Kirchengeschichte entstammt der Feder Eusebs von Caesarea (Endredaktion wohl vor 330).[2] Rufins Werk ist eine bearbeitende Übersetzung des Euseb unter Hinzufügung zweier neuer Bücher, die das Geschehen von 324 bis 395 beleuchten.[3] Sokrates,[4] Sozomenos[5] und Theodoret[6] verfaßten ihre Kirchengeschichten allesamt zwischen 433 und 449. Ihre Darstellungen beginnen mit Konstantin dem Großen und reichen bis in ihre Gegenwart unter Theodosius II. Werke, die nur fragmentarisch überliefert sind, wie Gelasios oder Philostorgios, werden im folgenden nicht berücksichtigt, da es nur eine halbwegs vollständige Textüberlieferung erlaubt, einzelne Sinnelemente zum Gesamttext in Beziehung zu setzen.

Für die Frage nach den Tempelzerstörungen in der Gattung Kirchengeschichte stellen zweifellos die Werke des Eusebius einen Spezialfall dar. Da seine *Historia ecclesiastica* mit dem Sieg Konstantins über Licinius endet, finden Tempelzerstörungen in ihr keine Berücksichtigung; sie ist allerdings als gattungsgenerierender Bezugspunkt für die folgenden Werke in vielfältiger Weise bedeutsam.[7] Geradezu umgekehrt verhält es sich mit seiner *Vita Constantini*, die streng genommen nicht unter

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[2] Zur Datierung von Eusebs Kirchengeschichte gelten immer noch die Erwägungen von Schwartz 1909, XLVII–LXI; dazu auch Moreau 1966, 1072; Grant 1980, 10–21.

[3] Zum zeitlichen Kontext von Rufinus' Kirchengeschichte s. Amidon 1997, VII–XIX mit weiteren Verweisen.

[4] Wallraff 1997, 209–212 argumentiert für die Entstehung von Sokrates' Kirchengeschichte in einer ersten Fassung vor 439 und für die Überarbeitung bis 443; s. dazu aber skeptisch Leppin 1996, 274–278.

[5] Vgl. Leppin 1996, 279–281; Van Nuffelen, 2004, 59–61; zur relativen Abfolge von Sokrates und Sozomenos vgl. Urbainczyk 1997a, 355–357.

[6] Vgl. Leppin 1996, 281–282.

[7] Chesnut 1977, 191–221; Timpe 1989, 197–198; Momigliano 1990, 138–152; Wallraff 1997, 135–145.

die Geschichtsschreibung einzuordnen ist; ihre Relevanz für unsere Fragestellung ergibt sich allerdings daraus, daß sich die späteren Kirchengeschichten inhaltlich explizit auf das Werk beziehen und die Tempelzerstörungen, die die *Vita Constantini* präsentiert, aufgreifen, verwenden und umarbeiten.

I

Auf den ersten Blick scheint die Schilderung von Tempelzerstörungen im Rahmen von Kirchengeschichten das denkbar Selbstverständlichste zu sein. Die Übernahme von heidnischen Kultstätten symbolisiert wie nichts sonst die *ecclesia triumphans*. Auch die objektive Aktualität des Themas ist für das 4. und die erste Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts kaum zu bestreiten: Eusebius erlebte die Auseinandersetzung zwischen der christlichen und den paganen Welten, noch ohne daß sich absehen ließ, wer der Sieger sein würde. Als Rufinus Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts Eusebs Werk übersetzte und fortschrieb, lag das Trauma einer potenziellen De-Christianisierung des Reiches durch Julian gerade einmal zwei Generationen zurück und war durchaus noch ein zentrales zeitgeschichtliches Thema. Ähnliches galt auch für die Welt von Sokrates, Sozomenos und Theodoret: Von einem definitiven Ende des Heidentums im Imperium Romanum konnte in der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts keine Rede sein.[8]

Umso überraschender ist der Befund der Texte. Zumindest für die Kirchengeschichten von Rufin bis Theodoret, aber eigentlich auch schon für Eusebs Werke, ist der gewaltsame Umgang mit Heiden und ihren Kultstätten in quantitativer wie qualitativer Hinsicht reichlich marginal. Das zeigt bereits die Statistik.[9] Für die berücksichtigten Kirchengeschichten gibt es, alles in allem, nicht mehr als 75 Belege, und dabei sind die Erwähnungen von kaiserlichen Gesetzen und die unspezifischen Charakterisierungen der jeweiligen kaiserlichen Haltung zum

[8] Vgl. Trombley 1993–1994, bes. Bd. 2, 380–386, der ganz wesentliche Schübe der Christianisierung von Kultorten und der Auseinandersetzung mit den paganen Konkurrenten noch bzw. erst im 5. Jahrhundert sieht.

[9] Grundlage der folgenden Auswertung ist eine Datenbank der literarisch überlieferten Tempelzerstörungen/Kultstörungen, die im Rahmen der Münsteraner DFG-Projekte seit 2000 entsteht (SFB 493: „Funktion von Religion in antiken Gesellschaften des Vorderen Orients"; DFG-Projekt „Kampf um Kultstätten. Sakraler Ort und religiöser Konflikt in der Spätantike").

Heidentum allgemein bereits mitgerechnet.[10] In der *Vita Constantini* lassen sich zusätzlich noch einmal 12 nach denselben Parametern gesammelte Belege dingfest machen.[11] Wenn man aus diesem Gesamtbestand nur die Fälle konkreter Störung individueller und namentlich aufgeführter Kulte berücksichtigt, kommt man auf nicht mehr als 45 Erzählungen für alle fünf Autoren. Rechnet man die Überschneidungen zwischen den Werken heraus, ist das Ergebnis noch eindeutiger: Wir erfahren insgesamt von nicht mehr als 17 verschiedenen Fällen von christlichen Angriffen auf individuelle pagane Kulte.[12]

Aus dieser dürren Auflistung ergibt sich geradezu zwangsläufig ein weiteres Kennzeichen des Befundes. Die Schilderung von Tempelzerstörungen in den Kirchengeschichten ist reichlich redundant. Lediglich drei Fälle sind nur in einem Text belegt, alle übrigen werden mindestens zweimal erzählt, der überwiegende Teil drei-, vier- oder fünfmal.[13] Kurz: Tempelzerstörungen in der Kirchengeschichte bilden einen schmalen, sozusagen kanonisierten Vorrat, der im Laufe der Entwicklung der Gattung nicht wesentlich erweitert wurde. Numerisch jedenfalls gehen die Konflikte zwischen Christen und Heiden in dem Meer der innerchristlichen Auseinandersetzungen hoffnungslos unter.

Auch die Positionierung bzw. narrative Qualität dieser Erzählungen verändert das Bild nicht wesentlich: Für die *plots* der Werke als ganzer oder ihrer erzählerischen Makrostrukturen spielen die Angriffe auf pagane Kultplätze lediglich eine untergeordnete Rolle. Wenn es um die Maximen kaiserlichen Handelns gehen soll, wird zunächst die Position des Herrschers zur Orthodoxie charakterisiert, dann erst seine Haltung gegenüber den Heiden.[14] Und bereits Rufin, in dessen Werk

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[10] Rufin. *hist.* 10,7–8; 10,36; 10,38–40; 11,4; 11,19; 11,22–23; 11,24; 11,25; 11,26; 11,27; 11,28; 11,29; 11,30; Socr. *h. e.* 1,3; 1,16; 1,17, 1,18,5–6; 1,18,7–9; 1,18,10; 1,18,11; 3,2; 3,3; 3,15; 3,18–19; 3,20; 3,24; 4,24; 5,16; 7,13–14; Soz. *h. e.* 1,8; 2,1–2; 2,3; 2,4; 2,5 (a); 2,5 (b); 3,17; 4,10; 4,30; 5,2; 5,4; 5,5; 5,7; 5,10 (a); 5,10 (b); 5,11; 5,19; 5,20; 5,21; 5,22; 6,20; 7,15 (a); 7,15 (b); 7,20; Thdt. *h. e.* 1,2; 1,16; 1,17; 1,18; 3,3; 3,7 (a); 3,7 (b); 3,10; 3,11–13; 3,14; 3,18; 3,20; 4,21; 4,25; 5,21; 5,22; 5,23; 5,27; 5,30; 5,39; 5,41.

[11] Eus. *v. Const.* 2,44; 2,45; 3,26–29; 3,48; 3,54; 3,55; 3,56–57; 3,58; 4,16; 4,23; 4,25; 4,39.

[12] Siehe Tabelle am Ende des Beitrags.

[13] Siehe Tabelle am Ende des Beitrags.

[14] Rufin. *hist.* 10,12; 11,2; 11,17; Socr. *h. e.* 2,2; 2,7; 4,1; 5,6; 7,22; Soz. *h. e.* 3,1; 3,17–18; 6,6; 6,10; 7,2; 8,1; 9,1; Thdt. *h. e.* 2,2; 2,3; 4,6; 4,12; 5,2; 5,6; 5,26. Anders verhält es sich verständlicherweise beim Wechsel von Julian zu Jovian (bzw. zu Valerian): An diesen Scharnierstellen bildet das Christ-Sein oder Nicht-Christ-Sein die wichtigste Unterscheidung (Socr. *h. e.* 3,22; Soz. *h. e.* 6,3; 6,6; Thdt. *h. e.* 4,1).

die Tempelzerstörungen noch vergleichsweise prominent erscheinen, schlägt in seinem ersten Absatz unverkennbar das Motiv an, dem seine Darstellung und alle Kirchengeschichten nach ihm folgen:

> Als in Alexandria nach Achillas, der auf den Märtyrer Petrus gefolgt war, Alexander das Bischofsamt antrat, wurde, weil Frieden und Ruhe vor Verfolgungen herrschten und der Ruhm der Kirche durch die Verdienste der Bekenner erstrahlte, unser Wohlergehen durch inneren Streit gestört.[15]

Zwar wird hier durchaus—und prominent—notiert, daß die staatlichen Autoritäten die Verfolgungen eingestellt haben und damit das heidnische Establishment die Christen nicht mehr bedroht, doch ist dies nicht viel mehr als der sich öffnende Vorhang, der den Blick auf das wirkliche Drama freigibt: Zentrales Thema der folgenden Kapitel und Bücher—und auch der Rufin nachfolgenden Autoren—ist nicht der Sieg über das Heidentum, sondern das Ringen um die Einheit der Kirche, der erbitterte Kampf zwischen Orthodoxie und Häresie. Will man daher die erzählten Tempelzerstörungen nicht als narrativ überständig begreifen—wogegen einiges spricht—, sind sie in diesen Rahmen einzuordnen.

Vor diesem Hintergrund verschiebt sich die Frage nach den Tempelzerstörungen in der christlichen Historiographie ein wenig und präzisiert sich zugleich: Welchen Sinn haben die berichteten Angriffe auf pagane Kultstätten in Bezug auf die zentrale Agenda der Kirchengeschichten, also bezüglich der Darstellung bzw. Deutung innerchristlicher Konflikte?

Einen ersten Ansatzpunkt für eine Antwort bietet wiederum die Statistik: Mustert man die Kultstörungen hinsichtlich der Akteure, fällt ins Auge, wie erheblich der Anteil derjeniger Fälle ist, für die die kaiserliche Initiative oder Beteiligung in Anspruch genommen wird: 48 der insgesamt 75 Belege sind explizit auf den Kaiser als Akteur bezogen.[16] Noch deutlicher wird das Bild, wenn man sich genauer

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[15] Rufin. *hist.* 10,1: *Cum apud Alexandriam post Achillam, qui Petro martyri successerat, Alexander sacerdotium suscepisset, quia pax nostris et quies a persecutionibus erat atque ecclesiarum gloria confessorum meritis gaudebat, prosperitas rerum nostrarum domestica contentione turbatur.* Auch dieses Leitmotiv der Kirchengeschichte ist bereits bei Eusebius im Proömium zu seiner Kirchengeschichte angelegt (Eus. *h. e.* 1,1–2). Die vornehmliche Differenz, die er dort propagiert, ist die zwischen Rechtgläubigen und Häretikern; die Angriffe der Heiden auf die Christen sind, obwohl zeitlich vorgängig, demgegenüber nachgeordnet (s. a. Chesnut 1983, 292–295).

[16] Rufin. *hist.* 10,7–8; 10,36; 10,38–40; 11,19; 11,22–23; Socr. *h. e.* 1,3; 1,16; 1,17, 1,18,5–6; 1,18,7–9; 1,18,10; 1,18,11; 3,2; 3,18–19; 3,24; 4,24; 5,16; Soz. *h. e.* 1,8;

anschaut, welchen Kaisern ein Vorgehen gegen die paganen Kulte zugeschrieben wird.

Wie zu erwarten ist, liegt bei allen Autoren ein massiver Schwerpunkt auf der Regierungszeit Konstantins des Großen. Sowohl die einzelnen Fälle als auch die Betonung der kaiserlichen Initiative gehen dabei bereits auf Eusebs *Vita Constantini* zurück. Interesselose Erinnerung sind Konstantins Tempelzerstörungen von Anfang an nicht. Eingebunden sind sie in das III. Buch des Werks, in dem Euseb durch eine schier endlose Aufzählung von kirchenpolitischen Maßnahmen und religiösen Akten des Kaisers[17] dessen eindeutige und vorbildliche Hinwendung zum Christentum plausibel zu machen versucht. In diesem Sinne wird Konstantins affirmative Haltung zum Konzil von Nikaia und sein Engagement für den Frieden in der Kirche durch die direkt danach erzählte Errichtung der Grabeskirche flankiert, die wiederum die Zerstörung des Aphroditetempels am selben Ort bedingt.[18] Die Beschreibung dieses kaiserlichen Kirchenbaus in Jerusalem wiederum leitet zum reichsweiten Vorgehen gegen Götzenverehrung über, wofür die Zerstörung des Aphrodite-Tempels[19] in Aphaka, des Asklepios-Heiligtums in Aigaiai[20] sowie des Aphrodite-Kultes in Heliopolis[21] als Beispiele angeführt werden. Indem Euseb hier Kulte präsentiert, die er als unsittlich und in ihrer Kultausübung als kriminell etikettiert,[22] schlägt er eine unmittelbare Brücke zwischen der Rechtgläubigkeit des Kaisers und den allgemeinen Geboten der Moral bzw. Ethik. So kommt den kaiserlicher Tempelzerstörungen in der *Vita Constantini* eine hohe deiktische Bedeutung zu: Sie sind sowohl Kronzeugen der Bekehrung des Kaisers wie seines—rechtgläubigen—religiösen Engagements.[23]

Dieses Muster setzte Maßstäbe für die Folgezeit, sowohl in der Sache als auch in der Tendenz. Zumindest Sokrates, wahrscheinlich aber auch seine beiden unmittelbaren Nachfolger haben Eusebs *Vita Constantini* als wesentliche Quelle für das äußere Geschehen der konstantinischen

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2,1–2; 2,3; 2,4; 2,5 (a); 2,5 (b); 3,17; 4,10; 5,2; 5,4; 5,5; 5,7; 5,10 (a); 5,19; 5,20; 5,21; 5,22; 7,15 (a); 7,20; Thdt. *h. e.* 1,2; 1,16; 1,17; 1,18; 3,11–13; 3,18; 3,20; 4,25; 5,21; 5,27; 5,30; 5,39.

[17] Eus. *v. Const.* 3,1–24.

[18] Eus. *v. Const.* 3,25–29.

[19] Eus. *v. Const.* 3,55.

[20] Eus. *v. Const.* 3,56–57.

[21] Eus. *v. Const.* 3,58.

[22] Eus. *v. Const.* 3,55 (Aphaka: Unzucht); 3,57 (Magie/Unmoral); 3,58 (Heliopolis: Unzucht).

[23] Eus. *v. Const.* 3,54: Πάντα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα συντελῶν εἰς δόξαν τῆς σωτηρίου δυνάμεως βασιλεὺς διεπράττετο. καὶ τὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ σωτῆρα θεὸν ὧδέ πη διετέλει γεραίρων.

Zeit verwendet. So werden dem Leser in den Kirchengeschichten von Sokrates und Sozomenos die fünf „klassischen" Heiligtumszerstörungen von Aphaka (Aphrodite),[24] Aigaiai (Asklepios),[25] Heliopolis (Aphrodite),[26] Jerusalem (Aphrodite)[27] und Mambre[28] dargeboten. Indem die Fälle narrativ zu einer Gruppe zusammengefaßt und mit anderen als antipagan gedeuteten Maßnahmen kombiniert werden, definieren sie explizit den Komplex der kaiserlichen Frömmigkeit. So gruppieren sich um die Zerstörungen paganer Kultplätze das Verbot von Gladiatorenspielen, von Tempelprostitution und paganen Festen, die Abschaffung der Kreuzigung, die Förderung von christlichen Amtsträgern im Staatsdienst, die Privilegierung des Klerus, die Einführung christlicher Symbole im Heer, die Desakralisierung paganer Kultgegenstände durch ihre Neuverwendung als Schmuck der Hauptstadt, die Installation von Konstantinsstatuen anstelle der Götterbilder und die Überführung des Nilometers vom Serapistempel in eine Kirche.[29] Ausgehend von der Umwandlung heidnischer Kultplätze in Stätten christlicher Verehrung firmiert schließlich Konstantins Kirchenbauprogramm insgesamt—vor allem in militärisch schwieriger Lage—als markantes Zeichen der kaiserlichen Frömmigkeit.[30] Daß eben diese Frömmigkeit seinen Erfolg garantiert habe, werden die Kirchenhistoriker nicht müde zu betonen.[31] In diesem Sinne erscheinen die Zerstörungen von paganen Kultplätzen als besonderes Signum der religiösen Überzeugung des Herrschers und als höchste Evidenz für seine vorbildhafte Rechtgläubigkeit.

Diese Profilierung Konstantins als Schlüsselfigur des antipaganen Kampfes findet—zumindest aus der Perspektive des 5. Jahrhunderts—einen natürlichen Gegenpol im Zerrbild Julians. Für eine typologische Gegenüberstellung des ersten christlichen Kaisers und des Apostaten ist das Motiv der Tempelzerstörung geradezu zentral. Hinsichtlich paganer Kultstätten ließ sich Julian leicht als Anti-Konstantin stilisieren. Er habe die Tempel wieder geöffnet, die verbotenen Opferhandlungen erlaubt und intensiviert,[32] einen toten christlichen Heiligen wegschaffen

[24] Socr. *h. e.* 1,18; Soz. *h. e.* 2,5.
[25] Soz. *h. e.* 2,5.
[26] Soz. *h. e.* 5,10.
[27] Rufin. *hist.* 10,7–8; Socr. *h. e.* 1,17; Soz. *h. e.* 2,1–2.
[28] Soz. *h. e.* 2,4.
[29] Socr. *h. e.* 1,17–18.
[30] Socr. *h. e.* 1,17; Thdt. *h. e.* 1,16–17.
[31] Soz. *h. e.* 1,8; Thdt. *h. e.* 1,34.
[32] Socr. *h. e.* 3,18; Soz. *h. e.* 5,3; 5,11; Thdt. *h. e.* 3,6.

lassen, um ein verstummtes heidnisches Orakel wiederzubeleben[33] und schließlich mit dem Plan, den jüdischen Tempel in Jerusalem wiederzuerrichten, die ideologischen Grundfesten des Christentums insgesamt attackiert.[34] Bezeichnend ist, daß ausführlich geschildert wird, daß und wie unter Julian Tempelzerstörer ‚aus besseren Zeiten' zur Rechenschaft gezogen werden und das Martyrium erleiden.[35] Damit wird dem Signum konstantinischer Frömmigkeit besonders nachdrücklich das Stigma julianischer Gottlosigkeit gegenübergestellt. Die Zerstörung des jüdischen Tempelbauplatzes durch göttliche Intervention und Julians siegloser Untergang bilden auch auf dieser Ebene das perfekte narrative Gegenstück zu Konstantins Erfolgsgeschichte.[36]

So wird das Motiv der Tempelzerstörung in den Kirchengeschichten ganz wesentlich durch die Antinomie von Konstantin und Julian strukturiert. Diese Konstellation war ebenso plausibel wie konsensuell und konnte von keinem Christen ernsthaft in Zweifel gezogen werden. Mit einer solchen normativen Syntax ließ sich allerdings mehr erreichen als Selbstverständliches wiederholen, und darin scheint mir für die Autoren der eigentliche Reiz gelegen zu haben. Denn das Motiv der Tempelzerstörung bildet ein subtiles Instrument für eine Bewertung der übrigen Kaiser, und zwar nicht gegenüber dem Heidentum, sondern in den erbitterten innerchristlichen Auseinandersetzungen des 4. Jahrhunderts um die Orthodoxie. Die Einstellung des Herrschers zu paganen Kultstätten fungiert als Lackmustest für Rechtgläubigkeit und charakterisiert damit seine Position als christlicher Kaiser prinzipiell. Daß dies nicht nur eine spekulative *ex eventu*-Interpretation ist, sondern für die Autoren ein tatsächlich verfügbares Muster war, macht eine synthetische und in besonderem Maße sinnstiftende Passage bei Theodoret deutlich. Bevor der Kirchenhistoriker seinen Lesern die prominentesten Tempelzerstörungen unter Theodosius I. (Apameia und das Serapeion) schildert, blickt er auf die Reihe der Kaiser des 4. Jahrhunderts zurück:

> Der glaubenseifrige Kaiser [Theodosius I.] wandte seine Sorgfalt auch der Bekämpfung des heidnischen Irrglaubens zu und erließ Gesetze, in denen er die Götzentempel zu zerstören befahl. Konstantin der Große nämlich, der allen Lobes überaus würdige Herrscher, hatte zwar als erster

[33] Socr. *h. e.* 3,18; Soz. *h. e.* 5,19; Thdt. *h. e.* 3,10.
[34] Socr. *h. e.* 3,20; Thdt. *h. e.* 3,20.
[35] Socr. *h. e.* 3,15; Soz. *h. e.* 5,4; 5,11; Thdt. *h. e.* 3,7.
[36] Socr. *h. e.* 3,20; 3,21; Soz. *h. e.* 5,22; Thdt. *h. e.* 3,25.

> unter den Kaisern die kaiserliche Würde mit dem Schmuck des wahren Glaubens geziert und, da er den Erdkreis noch im heidnischen Irrwahn verstrickt sah, zwar die Opfer zu Ehren der Dämonen gänzlich untersagt, ihre Tempel aber nicht zerstört, sondern nur schließen lassen. Und auch seine Söhne waren dem Vorbild des Vaters gefolgt. Julian dagegen führte von neuem die heidnische Gottlosigkeit ein und entzündete neuerdings die Flammen des alten Trugs. Als dann Jovian die Herrschaft übernahm, verbot er wiederum den Götzendienst, und auch der große Valentinian regierte Europa nach denselben Gesetzen. Valens dagegen gestattete zwar allen anderen die Religionsfreiheit und Freiheit der religiösen Überzeugungen, nur allein die Verteidiger der apostolischen Lehren verfolgte er beständig mit seiner Feindschaft. Daher brannte während der ganzen Zeit seiner Regierung das Feuer auf den Altären, man brachte den Götzen Trank- und Brandopfer dar, feierte Volksfeste offen auf dem Marktplatze, die in die Orgien des Dionysos Eingeweihten liefen in Ziegenfellen umher, trieben die Hunde auseinander, rasten und tobten und taten, was sonst noch die Verworfenheit ihres Lehrers kund zu machen geeignet war. Alle diese Dinge, die der glaubenseifrige Kaiser Theodosius (bei seinem Regierungsantritte) vorfand, rottete er mit der Wurzel aus und übergab sie der Vergangenheit.[37]

Theodoret war es in diesem Exkurs über Heidentum und Rechtgläubigkeit nicht so sehr—oder sogar keineswegs—um die Stigmatisierung des Apostaten Julian zu tun, sondern um die Disqualifizierung des heterodoxen christlichen Kaisers Valens. Im Rückblick erschien der vermeintliche Arianismus des Kaisers offenbar als der problematischere Betriebsunfall. Und aus der Perspektive des 5. Jahrhunderts war das durchaus folgerichtig. Denn über die Verworfenheit Julians gab es im christlichen Lager, gleich welcher Couleur man war, nie einen Dissens, und so konnte seine Disqualifizierung auch keinen stabilen Eigenwert besitzen. Auf der anderen Seite war es durchaus profitabel, den Umgang mit den heidnischen Kulten als wesentliches Unterscheidungskriterium zwischen „rechtgläubig" und „häretisch" zu mobilisieren, gerade weil Julian und das Heidentum eindeutig besetzt waren.

Selbstverständlich handelt es sich bei Theodorets synthetischem Kaiserbild um strategische Deklamatorik. Um seinen Stellenwert zu bestimmen, stellt sich die Frage nach seiner Repräsentativität: Welche Reichweite hatte das Muster für die Kirchenhistoriker des 5. Jahrhunderts insgesamt und welche pragmatische Bedeutung kam ihm für die Berichte über Tempelzerstörungen zu? Den besten Ansatzpunkt für

[37] Thdt. *h. e.* 5,21 (Übers. Seider 1926).

eine Antwort bieten die Berichte über Constantius II. und Valens, über die beiden Kaiser also, deren Orthodoxie—aus der Perspektive der genannten Kirchengeschichten—prekär sein mußte.

Am einfachsten liegen die Dinge für Valens: Zwar wird von allen Historikern—Rufin, Sokrates, Sozomenos und Theodoret—für seine Regierungszeit immerhin eine Tempelzerstörung vergleichsweise ausführlich erzählt.[38] Doch ist dem Kaiser diese gerade nicht zuzurechnen und thematisiert daher auch nicht seine Rechtgläubigkeit. Im Gegenteil: Die geschilderte Tempelzerstörung ist lediglich ein unbeabsichtigter Nebeneffekt einer innerchristlichen Konfliktkonstellation. Berichtet wird folgendes: Da der von Valens in Alexandria eingesetzte Arianerbischof Lukios auf erhebliche orthodoxe Widerstände in seinem Sprengel trifft, terrorisiert er zunächst die dafür Verantwortlichen—vorwiegend Mönche—und läßt schließlich, als das alles nichts hilft, die Äbte dieser unruhigen Klöster auf eine von der Außenwelt gänzlich abgeschnittene Insel deportieren. Dort hat man vom Christentum nichts gehört und verehrt noch immer ein heidnisches Götzenbild. Bei der Ankunft der Heiligen Männer fährt der lokale Dämon vor Angst und Zorn in die Tochter seines Priesters und beklagt sich mit ihrer Stimme lauthals über die Störung seines Kultes durch die orthodoxe Delegation an einem so abgelegenen Ort. Der Rest des *plots* liegt auf der Hand: Die Mönche vertreiben den Dämon aus dem Körper des Mädchens und von der Insel. Deren Einwohner zerstören unter dem Eindruck des Wunders den örtlichen Tempel und bauen ihn in eine Kirche um. Die Botschaft der Erzählung ist klar: Aus der Vertreibung unbeugsamer Orthodoxer durch von den höchsten Stellen unterstützte Häretiker erwächst unbestreitbares Heil für die christliche Kirche. Damit manifestiert sich in der oberägyptischen Tempelzerstörung ein göttliches Zeichen, das nicht nur den Stab über den Bischof Lukios, sondern auch über dessen Kaiser bricht.

Komplexer als für Valens liegen die Dinge im Fall von Constantius II. Er galt zwar als Arianer, hat die Gegner des Nicaenums nachdrücklich gefördert und spätere Ikonen der Orthodoxie, wie Athanasius von Alexandrien und Paulos von Konstantinopel, absetzen lassen und ins Exil gesandt. Gleichzeitig war allerdings auch seine Position gegenüber dem Heidentum besonders strikt. Seine diesbezüglichen Anordnungen,

[38] Rufin. *hist.* 11,4; Socr. *h. e.* 4,24; Soz. *h. e.* 6,20; Thdt. *h. e.* 4,21.

die der Codex Theodosianus überliefert,[39] sind zurecht als die erste in ihrem Kern intentional antipagane Gesetzgebung bezeichnet worden.[40] Unter seiner fast 24-jährigen Herrschaft wurden Tempel mit einiger Frequenz geschlossen und bisweilen zerstört sowie Opfer und andere pagane Praktiken prinzipiell geächtet.[41] Rufin zeigt allerdings, daß man diese unbequemen Tatsachen einfach ignorieren und zur Seite schieben konnte. Sein Kaiserbild ist vollständig mit der Förderung der Häretiker durch Constantius okkupiert,[42] Tempelzerstörungen und der Kampf gegen pagane Institutionen kommen bei ihm konsequenterweise nicht vor.

Auf diese Art verband Rufins Stilisierung von Constantius II. zwar auf kohärenteste Weise mangelnde Rechtgläubigkeit mit fehlendem antipaganen Engagement, doch auf lange Sicht war sie wegen der vielfältigen externen Evidenzen nicht die plausibelste. Die Lösung, die schließlich in der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung von Sokrates bis Theodoret für dieses Dilemma gefunden wurde, ist bezeichnend und bekräftigt ihrerseits die Deutung von Tempelzerstörungen als Medium im innerchristlichen Streit. Am deutlichsten tritt das Muster bei Sokrates hervor, der Constantius ohne Einschränkung als Häretiker und Feind des rechten Glaubens deklariert.[43] Folgerichtig berichtet er im 2. Buch seiner Kirchengeschichte, das der Regierungszeit des Constantius gewidmet ist, zwar von einer Kirchenzerstörung,[44] erwähnt jedoch keinen Angriff auf pagane Kulte. Daß unter dem arianischen Kaiser viel gegen heidnische Institutionen geschah, wird zwar nicht vollständig verschwiegen, aber in einen anderen narrativen Zusammenhang ausgelagert und damit in seiner Bedeutung entschärft. Denn Sokrates berichtet erst im Zusammenhang mit den restaurativen Bemühungen Julians, daß die Paganen mit der Administration des Constantius nicht zufrieden sein konnten.[45] Ebenfalls nur im Rückblick werden—als konkrete Fälle—die Zerstörung und Plünderung von Götterbildern durch den Militärtribun

[39] *Cod. Theod.* 16,10,4–6; gegen Magie und Zukunftdeutung 9,16,4; 9,16,6; 9,36,7; 9,36,9; 9,42,2; 9,42,4.
[40] Noethlichs 1986, 1156.
[41] Noethlichs 1986, 1155–1157.
[42] Rufin. *hist.* 10,16–27.
[43] Socr. *h. e.* 2,37.
[44] Socr. *h. e.* 2,11; 2,14.
[45] Socr. *h. e.* 3,1.

Artemius in Alexandrien[46] und die Übereignung eines Mithräums an die alexandrinische Kirche durch Constantius selbst erwähnt.[47]

Ganz ähnlich verfährt Theodoret mit der Imago des Kaisers. Nur vor der Folie Julians erhält Constantius positive Züge. Auch bei Theodoret werden die antipaganen Aktionen des Artemius lediglich im Rückblick präsentiert und erhalten damit—wie bei Sokrates—naturgemäß einen anderen Sinn. Indem etwa die Verfolgung des Artemius durch Julian den Ausgangspunkt der Geschichte darstellt,[48] verschwimmt der Bezug auf Constantius' Regierungszeit. Artemius wird zum orthodoxen Helden eigenen Rechts; sein Engagement kann dem Kaiser nicht mehr zugerechnet werden.

Etwas anders liegen die Dinge bei Sozomenos: Zwar berichtet auch er nicht von einem konkreten Vorgehen gegen pagane Heiligtümer unter Constantius, aber er erwähnt immerhin die scharfen Gesetze des Kaisers—und zwar in denjenigen Büchern, die Constantius' Regierungszeit zum Thema haben.[49] Diese Position läßt sich allerdings nicht als Durchbrechung des Musters „antipagan gleich rechtgläubig" verstehen. Im Gegenteil: Sozomenos flankiert die Präsentation des Constantius als Kämpfer gegen das Pagane durch eine massive religiöse Ehrenrettung des Kaisers. Mit erheblichem textuellen Aufwand bemüht er sich zu zeigen, daß Constantius im Grunde seines Herzens orthodox gewesen und geblieben sei, während für alle prohäretischen Entscheidungen allein die Einflüsterungen seiner verworfenen Berater verantwortlich gewesen seien.[50]

Ebenso wie an den aus der Perspektive des 5. Jahrhunderts häretischen Kaisern bestätigt sich das entworfene Muster an den orthodoxen. Wird ein Kaiser prononciert als rechtgläubig inszeniert, darf der antipagane Impetus nicht fehlen. Besonders deutlich wird dieser Zusammenhang natürlich an der Nahtstelle zwischen einem kritisierten und einem affirmierten Herrscher. So wird Jovian trotz seiner kurzen

[46] Socr. *h. e.* 3,3.
[47] Socr. *h. e.* 3,2.
[48] Thdt. *h. e.* 3,18.
[49] Soz. *h. e.* 3,17.
[50] Soz. *h. e.* 3,18–19; 4,2; 4,15; s. auch Rufin. *hist.* 10,12. In Soz. *h. e.* 4,14 zeigt Sozomenos Constantius sogar, wie er gegen Eudoxios vorgeht, den auch der Historiker als Häretiker betrachtet, und in Soz. *h. e.* 4,16 kreditiert er ihn mit dem Plan, ein Konzil gegen die Häresie des Aetios einzuberufen. So bleibt für Sozomenos insgesamt festzuhalten, daß er zumindest den Rest eines positiven Kaiserbildes auch für Constantius zu retten versucht und damit auch das christliche Kaisertums insgesamt als legitime Institution bewahrt.

Regierungszeit ein scharfes Vorgehen gegen das Heidentum bescheinigt,[51] um die Differenz zu Julian zu betonen, und Theodosius—als Nachfolger des arianischen Monstrums Valens—erscheint mit der nachdrücklichen Profilierung seiner antipaganen Aktivitäten als direkter Erbe und Vollender Konstantins des Großen.[52] Und auch für die Kaiser der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts wird die Tendenz spürbar, das Thema der Orthodoxie mit dem Rekurs auf die antipagane Einstellung der Herrscher zu ornamentieren.[53]

Diese Engführung zwischen „Rechtgläubigkeit" im innerchristlichen Konflikt und der Einstellung gegenüber dem Heidentum, die sich an der betriebenen oder unterlassenen Tempelzerstörung ablesen läßt, barg erhebliches propagandistisches Potential. Indem der Tempelzerstörer das konstantinische Signet des Rechtgläubigen erhält, der Nicht-Tempelzerstörer aber vor die Folie der julianischen Christenfeindschaft gestellt werden kann, lassen sich heterodoxe Positionen als eigentlich heidenfreundlich oder gar heidnisch klassifizieren. Theodoret hat dies in der oben zitierten Passage für Valens kontrafaktisch und mit dem literarischen Holzhammer demonstriert.

Ungleich subtiler, doch in dieselbe Richtung geht auch Sokrates. Er berichtet, zur Zeit des Valens hätten angesehene Philosophen ein Orakel befragt, um den Namen des nächsten Kaisers herauszubringen. Als Valens davon erfahren hätte, habe er alle daran Beteiligte hinrichten lassen. Dieses durchaus übliche und vollständig legale Verfahren kritisiert Sokrates scharf, indem er dem ungeliebten Kaiser vorwirft, er sei offenbar in seinem Handeln von heidnischen Axiomen viel zu sehr beeinflußt: Schließlich hätte er als guter Christ wissen müssen, daß Orakel nur Schall und Rauch wären.[54]

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[51] Socr. *h. e.* 3,24; Soz. *h. e.* 6,3; Thdt. *h. e.* 4,1–2. Alle drei Historiker verknüpfen Jovians Haltung gegenüber den Heiden unmittelbar mit dessen Rechtgläubigkeit.

[52] Rufin. *hist.* 11,19; Soz. *h. e.* 7,4; 7,15; 7,20; 7,22; Thdt. *h. e.* 5,39; zu Theodoret vgl. insbesondere Leppin 1996, 287–290. Bei Sokrates ist im Falle des Theodosius die Verknüpfung zwischen antipaganem Handeln und Rechtgläubigkeit schwächer; das hängt wohl vor allem damit zusammen, daß der Historiker die Vorgänge um das Serapeion von Alexandrien eher negativ bewertet und dem Kaiser nicht als Heldentat des Glaubens anheften möchte (s. dazu u. 81–83; vgl. auch Leppin 1996, 106). Die Parallelisierung von Theodosius und Konstantin tritt bei ihm daher eher in biographischen Elementen wie der besonderen Inszenierung der Taufe des Theodosius (Socr. *h. e.* 5,6) zutage.

[53] Socr. *h. e.* 7,22; Soz. *h. e.* 8,4. Thdt. *h. e.* 5,27 (für Honorius); 5,30 (für Arcadius); 5,39 (für Theodosius II.).

[54] Socr. *h. e.* 4,19.

Die Klassifikation des häretischen Kaisers als heidnisch stellte ein offenbar plausibles Muster dar. In den Kirchengeschichten jedenfalls hat es Konjunktur, auch abseits der Figur des Kaisers: Arianer werden in den Auseinandersetzung mit den Nicaenern wie heidnische Christenverfolger inszeniert,[55] der Manichäismus wird mit dem Stigma des Heidentums versehen,[56] und in der Niederlage eines arianischen Philosophen gegen den einfachen, aber richtigen Glauben[57] wird unverkennbar die Nähe von Heterodoxie und Paganentum evoziert. Die Beliebtheit der Nähe von „heidnisch" und „häretisch" in der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung erklärt sich wohl nicht zuletzt aus der Präsenz des Musters im ganz realen Kampf um Bischofssitze und Deutungsmacht. Besonders in heiklen Auseinandersetzungen war die Denunziation innerchristlicher Gegner als Heiden offenbar ein probates Mittel. Athanasius war im Gebrauch dieser Waffe ein wahrer Meister. Gemäß einer seiner Enzykliken geschah die Amtseinführung des ersten Gegenbischofs Gregor (339) unter eifriger Mitwirkung der heidnischen Menge.[58] Darüber hinaus beschuldigt Athanasius den zuständigen Präfekten Philagrios—kontrafaktisch—ausdrücklich der Apostasie.[59] Und auch bei der Inthronisierung des Kappadokiers Georg im Jahr 356 werden ähnliche Vorwürfe laut.[60] Im Konflikt um das Kaisareion (356), versuchte Athanasius das Vorgehen gegen ihn, hinter dem wohl Constantius II. stand, dadurch in Verruf zu bringen, daß er gewalttätige pagane Horden dafür verantwortlich machte.[61] In seiner Nachfolge ließ, in der Regierungszeit des Valens, Petros, der „orthodoxe" Bischof von Alexandria, in einer Enzyklika aus seinem römischen Exil den an seiner Statt eingesetzten Arianerbischof Lukios unverbrämt als Heidenfreund auftreten: Lukios sei von den Heiden in Alexandria folgendermaßen begrüßt worden: „Es ist schön, o Bischof, daß du gekommen bist, der du den Sohn nicht bekennst; Serapis hat dich liebend hierher geführt."[62]

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[55] Rufin. *hist.* 11,5–6; Socr. *h. e.* 2,28; 4,17–18; 4,22; 4,24; Soz. *h. e.* 6,12–13; 6,18–20; Thdt. *h. e.* 4,22.

[56] Socr. *h. e.* 1,22.

[57] Rufin. 10,2–3; Soz. *h. e.* 1,18.

[58] Athan. *ep. encycl.* 3,2.

[59] Athan. *ep. encycl.* 5; *apol. sec.* 72; *hist. Ar.* 9. Wie haltlos ein solcher Vorwurf war, belegt die Schilderung des Gregor von Nazianz, der seinem kappadokischen Landsmann (Greg. Naz. *or.* 21,28) großen Respekt zollt.

[60] Etwa Athan. *hist. Ar.* 55,2.

[61] Zu den Vorgängen um das Kaisareion vgl. jetzt Isele 2006, Kap. 9.

[62] Thdt. *h. e.* 4,22.

So tritt in diesem Punkt ein genreübergreifendes stabiles Muster zutage. Der Profit einer erfolgreichen Überblendung von Heterodoxie und Heidentum liegt auf der Hand. Den Gegner als häretisch zu denunzieren, war argumentativ immer eine prekäre Operation, denn was als Häresie und Orthodoxie gelten konnte, war—zumal im 4. Jahrhundert—schlichtweg eine Frage der Deutungsmacht. Die eigene Orthodoxie gegen die Häresie der anderen zu setzen, war zunächst nur ein Anspruch, der der plausiblen Begründung bedurfte. Unter diesen Umständen bot das Paganenargument eine zusätzliche Chance zur Überzeugung und Beeinflussung. Gelang es—auch ex post—, bestimmte Positionen oder Personen glaubhaft mit dem Heidentum zu verbinden, konnte man sie damit konkurrenzlos wirksam abqualifizieren. Denn die Einstellung zu paganen Kulten war ein unbezweifelbarer Maßstab für den rechten Glauben: Über die spirituelle Defizienz des Heidentums gab es schließlich in keinem der christliche Lager einen Dissens. Und indem die Tempelzerstörungen konsequent auf den Herrscher bezogen wurden, konnte auch der christliche Kaiser in dieses vertraute und plausible Deutungsschema integriert werden.

Eng verbunden mit der Funktion der Tempelzerstörung in der christlichen Historiographie ist deren narrative Morphologie: Denn der Bezug der Tempelzerstörungen auf den Kaiser hat erhebliche Konsequenzen auf das Erzählte und die Erzählweise. Augenscheinlich entscheidet die gattungstypische Konstellation in erheblichem Maße darüber, wie die einzelnen Angriffe auf pagane Heiligtümer berichtet werden. Das betrifft indirekt auch den religiösen Gehalt der Erzählungen.

Es ist auffällig, daß sich die meisten Kultstörungen bei den Kirchenhistorikern in einem ganz innerweltlichen Horizont bewegen und eine geringe Dramatik aufweisen. In den meisten Fällen ist die Tempelzerstörung ein einfacher Vollzug des kaiserlichen Willens. Von Problemen oder Widerstand hört man nichts, die narrative Sequenz ist gleichsam aus der Vogelperspektive organisiert. Dem entspricht auch das Bild der alten Götter. Sie sind im Grunde nichtexistent und lediglich Vorspiegelungen der menschlichen *superstitio*, die es zu überwinden gilt.[63] Das vornehmliche Mittel der Überzeugung und Bekehrung ist daher die Enthüllung der Machtlosigkeit der paganen Gottheiten,[64]

[63] Wiederum ist das Muster bereits bei Eusebius entwickelt: Eus. *v. Const.* 3,54–58; Rufin. *hist.* 11,23; Socr. *h. e.* 1,18; 5,16; Soz. *h. e.* 2,5; 7,20; Thdt. *h. e.* 5,23.

[64] Eus. *v. Const.* 3,56; Rufin. *hist.* 11,23; Socr. *h. e.* 1,3; Soz. *h. e.* 7,15, Thdt. *h. e.* 5,23.

der verbrecherischen Riten, die in ihrem Namen vollzogen wurden,[65] und des schändlichen Mummenschanzes, der getrieben wurde, um die Menschen zu täuschen.[66] Geht es einmal nicht ohne Widerstand ab—wie etwa im Falle des alexandrinischen Serapeions—, handelt es sich nicht um dämonische Mächte, sondern fast ausnahmslos um die innerweltliche Gewaltausübung heidnischer Erdenbürger und ihrer christlichen Gegenspieler.

Diese narrative Struktur ist unbedingt funktional für den Sinn, den der Bericht von Tempelzerstörungen im Rahmen der Kirchengeschichte erhält: Soll der Kaiser als Initiator und Aktivist des antiheidnischen Kampfes inszeniert werden, bleiben ihm als Handlungsmodus nur Gesetz und Befehl. Die jeweilige Durchführung ist den lokalen Gewalten überlassen, die der Kaiser allenfalls durch seinen Willen aus der Ferne dirigieren kann. Der Kampf gegen die Götzen entbehrt daher—was seine Person angeht—der heroischen Nähe; ein persönliches Duell mit den alten Göttern findet nicht statt. Geht es also in der Gattung Kirchengeschichte um die Charakterisierung des Kaisers als rechtgläubig und fromm, ist es daher nur folgerichtig, wenn die Initiative möglichst reibungslos zum intendierten Ergebnis führt. Treten lokale Autoritäten hinter dem kaiserlichen Willen markanter in Erscheinung, mag ihr Handeln sogar, wie das des Theophilos in der Serapeion-Affäre, nicht über alle Kritik erhaben sein.[67] Eine narrative Sequenz, in der sich die Macht antiker Götter in Form von Dämonen manifestiert und von einem religiösen Charismatiker gebrochen wird, hat in diesem Kontext eigentlich keinen Platz. Der Kampf gegen gefährliche Dämonen ist dagegen ein wirkungsvolles Muster der Hagiographie: Der Heilige braucht die Macht der alten Götter, um eine außerordentliche persönliche Leistung und die ihn auszeichnende Hilfe durch den christlichen Gott reklamieren zu können.[68] Eine solche charismatische Leistung allerdings würde den Bezug der Tempelzerstörung auf den Kaiser durchbrechen, den die Kirchengeschichte so nachdrücklich privilegiert hat. Denn einem Charismatiker kann auch ein Kaiser nicht befehlen.

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[65] Eus. *v. Const.* 3,55; 3,57; Rufin. *hist.* 11,23; 11,24–25; Socr. *h. e.* 1,18; 3,2.

[66] Rufin. *hist.* 11,23; Thdt. *h. e.* 5,23.

[67] Siehe u. 81–84.

[68] Sehr deutlich tritt dieses Muster etwa in der Thekla-Vita und dem Bericht über ihre Wunder aus der Feder des Anonymus aus Seleukeia am Kalykadnos oder in der Vita des Nikolaos von Sion zutage: Bas. Sel. *v. Thecl.* 27; *mir. Thecl.* 1–4 (ed. Dagron 1978); s. dazu Gotter 2003a, 193–197 und Saradi in diesem Band; *V. Nicol. Sion* 15–21 (ed. Ševčenko – Patterson Ševčenko 1984, 34–42).

So sind die standardisierten antipaganen Handlungen des Kaisers (Gesetz und Befehl) der eine Modus der Tempelzerstörung, die Dämonenkämpfe der Heiligen ein anderer. Beide sind in ganz unterschiedlichen literarischen Konfigurationen und Sinnsystemen beheimatet. Das heißt natürlich nicht, daß Dämonen als Gegner in den Kirchengeschichten vollständig fehlten.[69] Nur ist dieser Modus gewissermaßen subsidiär und alles andere als bedeutungsfrei. Denn bereits das Hervortreten des Heiligen Mannes bei der Tempelzerstörung trägt tendenziell eine Aussage über das Nichtwollen oder Nichtkönnen des Kaisers als des konzeptionellen Protagonisten des Glaubens in sich. Wenn also in der Kirchengeschichte christliche Charismatiker auftreten und pagane Heiligtümer niederreißen, heißt das im Grunde, daß der Kaiser nicht fromm bzw. orthodox ist. Auch aus der Perspektive narrativer Morphologie also bricht die oben erzählte Dämonenaustreibung auf der ägyptischen Insel den Stab über Valens.

II

Das Thema „Tempelzerstörung" in der Kirchengeschichte des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts ermöglichte es also, indirekt über die Frömmigkeit des Herrschers zu sprechen. Doch kann dieses Ergebnis kein befriedigender Schlusspunkt der Untersuchung sein. Denn eine solche Interpretation muß redlicherweise in die (Meta-)Frage nach dem Sinn und Zweck des indirekten Sprechens im Rahmen der spezifischen literarischen Gattung münden. Hier aber ergibt sich bereits auf den ersten Blick ein nicht unerhebliches Problem: Unbestreitbar war in den Kirchengeschichten Kaiserkritik auch offen und explizit möglich und wurde von den einzelnen Autoren durchgängig, wenn auch in unterschiedlicher Intensität, praktiziert. Zugespitzt formuliert: Hätte der Bericht der Tempelzerstörungen nur die Funktion von Kaiserlob und Kaiserkritik gehabt, wäre der erhebliche Aufwand an Subtilität, den die Technik des indirekten Sprechens verlangt, nicht recht verständlich. Worum aber ging es dann?

Auf der Ebene des einzelnen Textes ist dies letztlich eine hypothetische Frage, da sie für eine wirklich verläßliche Antwort zu viele

[69] Etwa Babylas: Socr. *h. e.* 3,18. Besonders präsent sind Dämonenkämpfe konsequenterweise bei Theodoret, der von allen Kirchenhistorikern die „heiligen Männer" am deutlichsten exponiert (Thdt. *h. e.* 3,3; 3,10; 4,21; 5,22).

Variablen aufweist. Doch vielleicht kommt man einer Lösung näher, wenn man den Rahmen der Untersuchung etwas weiter zieht und sich noch einmal vor Augen führt, was die signifikanten Eigenheiten (und Probleme) der Kirchengeschichte als Gattung ausmacht. Daß Kirchengeschichte eigentlich ein literarischer Wechselbalg ist, der auf mehreren Klaviaturen gleichzeitig zu spielen versucht, ist keine sonderlich neue Feststellung.[70] In der Tat bringt die Darstellung der christlichen Kirche in ihrer kollektivsingularischen Idee eine ganze Reihe von thematischen Elementen zusammen: von der heilsgeschichtlichen Perspektive, über die Dogmenausbildung bis hin zur institutionellen Organisation und zum innerkirchlichen Konfliktaustrag.[71] Daß sich die Kirche darüber hinaus nicht in einem politisch-sozialen Vakuum bewegte, wurde spätestens mit ihrer neuen Rolle seit der Konstantinischen Wende völlig unübersehbar.[72] Daß man sich zur Beschreibung dieser komplexen Gemengelage der Gattung der Geschichtsschreibung (*historía*) bediente, war daher alles andere als selbstverständlich und ist eigentlich erklärungsbedürftig.

Geschichtsschreibung hatte sich in etwa 800 Jahren Praxis zu einer literarischen Konfiguration verfestigt, deren Gegenstände ebenso vertraut und festgelegt waren wie ihre Gesetze. Themen des Genres waren fast ausnahmslos politische Großereignisse (vornehmlich Kriege) oder die Geschichte politischer Einheiten (Städte, Reiche, Völker).[73] In ihrer Behandlung hatte die Gattung aufwendige und zumeist innerweltliche Muster von Kausalität ausgebildet, die die einzelnen geschilderten Ereignisse zueinander in Beziehung setzten.[74] Damit waren schließlich

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[70] Hierfür grundlegend Timpe 1989, 171–197; s. a. Schwartz 1963, 110–116; Momigliano 1963, 88–94; Wallraff 1997, 135–137.

[71] Vgl. Timpe 1989, bes. 177–180; Schwartz 1963, 116–117.

[72] Diese Tatsache spiegeln die Kirchengeschichten von Sokrates, Sozomenos und Theodoret überdeutlich, indem sie an den Anfang ihrer Darstellungen Konstantins Selbstchristianisierung als entscheidende Zäsur setzen. Anders als etwa Rohrbacher 2002, 110 und Urbainczyk 1997b, 42 kann ich darin keine Fortsetzung der Kirchengeschichte des Euseb sehen, selbst wenn Theodoret—allerdings auch nur er allein—es für sein Werk behauptet (Thdt. *h. e.* 1,1). Sokrates beginnt programmatisch mit dem Sieg Konstantins und verspricht ausdrücklich, von Euseb Ausgelassenes nachzutragen (Socr. *h. e.* 1,1), und Sozomenos beginnt gar mit den Anfängen der christlichen Kirche nach Jesu Tod (Soz. *h. e.* 1,1). So beginnt der *plot* bei allen dreien vor dem Schlußpunkt von Eusebs Darstellung.

[73] Siehe Marincola 1999, 283–290, der hier die wesentlichen thematischen Linien der griechisch-römischen Geschichtsschreibung synthetisiert. Daß Overbeck 1892, 42 in Eusebs Kirchengeschichte zu Unrecht eine Analogie zur Völkergeschichte sieht, hat Timpe 1989, 179 schlüssig argumentiert.

[74] Vgl. Momigliano 1990, 29–49 und die prägnante Zusammenfassung bei Murray 2000, 282–286.

auch klar definierte Anforderungen an die Rolle des Autors und seine spezifische Autoritätsbegründung verbunden. Das bedeutete vor allem den Nachweis seiner Unabhängigkeit sowie seiner fachlichen und inhaltlichen Kompetenz.[75] Diesen Kriterien konnte eine Kirchengeschichte unter christlichen Auspizien kaum ohne weiteres entsprechen: Der Gegenstand „Kirche" war eine thematische Monstrosität, die grundsätzlich quer zu den traditionellen Einheiten der Geschichtsschreibung stand.[76] Die heilsgeschichtliche Perspektive und der religiöse Standpunkt, den das Thema auferlegte,[77] erzwangen ein radikal anderes Kausalitätssystem.[78] Mit dem christlichen Gott als höchster geschichtlicher Instanz verschoben sich notwendigerweise auch die expliziten Loyalitäten des Autors und seine Strategien der Autoritätsbegründung: Der Beweis von Rechtgläubigkeit mußte wichtiger sein als soziale Unabhängigkeit und Expertise.

Weshalb also griff man trotz dieser Inkongruenzen und Unverträglichkeiten seit dem 4. Jahrhundert zum Genre der Geschichtsschreibung, um das spezifisch christliche Thema „Kirche" abzuhandeln? Eine Antwort darauf ist natürlich zu einem guten Teil Spekulation. Vielleicht liegt die risikoloseste Annahme darin, daß die Historiographie das angesehenste und effektivste Deutungsmuster von Welt-Geschehen und sichtbarer Realität war, die die pagane Tradition anzubieten hatte. Ein solches literarisches Instrument nicht im Rahmen der neuen siegreichen Religion zu adaptieren, hätte einen erheblichen Verzicht auf Sinnstiftung bedeutet. Doch war da sicherlich noch mehr. Denn über die Besetzung eines populären Musters hinaus erschloß die Aneignung der Geschichtsschreibung unter christlichen Vorzeichen ein erhebliches und neues Potential. Mit der etablierten Gattung Historiographie bot sich eine offensive Plattform für durchaus polemische Deutungen großer Reichweite: Wie die Tradition gezeigt hatte, berichtete Geschichtsschreibung nicht nur über Konflikte und Kämpfe, sondern war auch

[75] Marincola 1997, passim, bes. 3–12 und 158–174; über die spezifischen Techniken des griechischen Historikers, Glaubwürdigkeit zu produzieren, s. Luraghi 2001.

[76] Momigliano 1963, 89–92; Chesnut 1977, 37–131; schief dazu Mehl 2001, 184. Van Nuffelen 2004, 166–176 räumt zwar die Differenz hinsichtlich des Gegenstandes ein, betont aber im übrigen, etwas zu harmonisierend, die Parallelität des neuen christlichen Genres zur traditionellen Historiographie.

[77] Siehe dazu Ulrich 2005, 278–282, aus dessen sehr traditioneller Darstellung allerdings nicht recht deutlich wird, weshalb sich Euseb überhaupt mit dem Genos der Geschichtsschreibung eingelassen hat, um seine apologetisch-theologischen Anliegen zu erreichen.

[78] Van Nuffelen 2004, 181–183; 219–225.

selbst Mittel in Konflikt und Kampf um die zeitgenössische Interpretationsmacht. Geschichtsschreibung war eine zu scharfe Waffe, um sie in einem konfliktreichen Zeitalter nicht zu gebrauchen.[79]

Sichereren Boden betritt man wieder, wenn man nach den Konsequenzen dieser Aneignung fragt. Indem christliche Autoren für ihre Botschaft das Medium Historiographie instrumentalisierten, begaben sie sich in einen semantisch hochgradig aufgeladenen Raum von Gattungskonventionen, die den Anspruch erhoben, den mitgeteilten Inhalt in sachlicher und normativer Hinsicht zu strukturieren.[80] Das mochte vergleichsweise unproblematisch bleiben, solange man das Konzept der *historía* vornehmlich deklaratorisch bemühte, wie dies Euseb in seinem Begründungswerk eines neuen literarischen Genres getan hat.[81] Je ernster man allerdings die herkömmlichen Konventionen nahm und je stärker man das sinnstiftende Potential der Gattung ausschöpfen wollte, desto präsenter wurden die überkommenen Gesetze der Geschichtsschreibung für das Thema Kirche[82] und umso notwendiger erschien die Integration der disparaten Elemente, die man sich mit dem Gegenstand der Kirchen-Geschichte auferlegt hatte. Diese Entwicklung mag man in Spurenelementen bereits bei Rufin erkennen, spätestens mit Sokrates sind die einschneidenden Veränderungen in dieser Hinsicht nicht mehr zu übersehen. Im Grunde waren in einer „Kirchengeschichte" zwei Sphären zueinander in Beziehung zu setzen: zum einen die theologischen Inhalte, die das Thema „Kirche" unausweichlich und programmatisch transportierte, zum anderen das externe politisch-militärische Geschehen, das das traditionelle Objekt der Geschichtsschreibung darstellte und das in immer stärkerem Maße auf die christlichen Gemeinden einwirkte.[83] Diese zwei Sphären entstammten unterschiedlichen Traditionslinien, gehorchten verschiedenen Normen, assimilierten differente literarische Muster und waren einander systemisch fremd. Und doch entsprach ihre vollständige Entkopplung weder der Realität noch der zeitgenössischen Wahrnehmung[84]—und

[79] Momigliano 1990. Bezeichnend ist die Begründung für die notwendige Benutzung paganer Bildung in Auseinandersetzungen, die sich bei Sokrates findet (Socr. *h. e.* 3,16); zur Bedeutung der griechischen Tradition für die neue Gattung s. a. Allen 1987; Wallraff 1997, 89–92.

[80] Schwartz 1963, 114–117; s. o. 60–61.

[81] Eus. *h. e.* 1,1,1–6; s. a. Grant 1980, 35–40.

[82] Vgl. Markus 1975, 10–11.

[83] Downey 1965, 58; Timpe 1989, 193–195.

[84] Leppin 1996, 33.

im übrigen auch nicht dem theologischen Anspruch, göttliches Wirken in der Welt manifestiert zu sehen. Wollte man also die beiden Sphären in der wirksamen Gattung der Geschichtsschreibung zueinander in Beziehung setzen, war ein Spagat der Doktrinen und literarischen Traditionen unvermeidlich. Im Zentrum dieses Spagats mußte zwangsläufig der Kaiser stehen, denn er war—unter den Bedingungen der Reichsordnung—der unvermeidliche Kristallisationspunkt des externen Geschehens. So erscheint die diskursive Einbindung des Kaisers in das Reich der Kirche oder umgekehrt die Einbindung der Kirche in das Imperium des Kaisers als die zentrale Herausforderung des neuen christlichen Genres.

In diesem Sinne wurden kaiserliche Politik und imperiales Handeln in den Kirchengeschichten als ganz wesentlich religiösen Parametern folgend oder zumindest den Gesetzen des religiösen Feldes entsprechend präsentiert. Ganz einfach war das noch für die kaiserliche Kirchenpolitik selbst, die naturgemäß im Zentrum der christlichen Historiographie steht und bereits quantitativ einen erheblichen Teil des Stoffes ausmacht: Damit wurde dem Leser allerdings zugleich vermittelt, daß die Belange der Kirche ein dominantes Thema der Administration bildeten.[85] Doch auch über diesen engeren Bereich von Kirchenpolitik hinaus expandierte das religiöse Paradigma in der christlichen Geschichtsschreibung. Nachdrücklich wurde traditionelles kaiserliches Handeln mit christlichen Zeichen und religiösen Beweggründen durchsetzt. So erscheinen etwa Kämpfe um die Macht (wie der Konstantins gegen Licinius) als religiös motivierte Kriege[86] und Konflikte zwischen West- und Ostreich (wie zwischen Constans und Constantius II.) als im Kern religiös begründeter Dissens.[87] Wo immer es vom Ergebnis her opportun war, versuchten die Historiker, Frömmigkeit und militärische Erfolge zu koppeln (etwa Theodosius gegen Eugenius),[88] Strafwunder für kaiserlichen Frevel einzusetzen[89] und das Ende der Herrscher als göttliches Votum gegenüber

[85] Einheit der Kirche: Socr. *h. e.* 1,9; Häresie geht vom Kaiserhof aus: Socr. *h. e.* 2,2; 2,27; Bedeutung der kirchlichen Amtsträger: Rufin. *hist.* 10,1; Socr. *h. e.* 1,11–1,13; 5,10; 6,1 (Kaiser und wesentliche Bischofssitze machen die Struktur des Imperiums aus); Thdt. *h. e.* 1,10.

[86] Socr. *h. e.* 1,4; Soz. *h. e.* 1,7.

[87] Rufin. *hist.* 10,20; Socr. *h. e.* 2,22–23; Soz. *h. e.* 3,20; Soz. *h. e.* 7,22 (Eugenius gegen Theodosius); auch Konstantin gegen Sapor (Soz. *h. e.* 2,15); Thdt. *h. e.* 2,8.

[88] Rufin. *hist.* 10,8; Soz. *h. e.* 1,8 (Konstantin); Rufin. *hist.* 11,33; Soz. *h. e.* 7,24; Thdt. *h. e.* 5,25 (Theodosius).

[89] Eus. *h. e.* 8,16; Rufin. *hist.* 10,39–40; Soz. *h. e.* 3,20; 4,16; 4,26; 5,8; 5,21; 6,40; Thdt. *h. e.* 3,14.

ihrer Person und Politik zu etablieren.[90] Der selektive und willkürliche Umgang mit dem Muster „Erfolg durch Rechtgläubigkeit" deutet dabei allerdings darauf hin, daß es sich hierbei nicht um die konsequent etablierte Essenz des Genres handelte, sondern um eine instrumentelle Figur, die in eher aphoristischer Weise die Bedeutung der Religion für das äußere Geschehen unterstreichen sollte.

Vor diesem Hintergrund scheint mir auch das verweisende Sprechen über Tempelzerstörungen seinen spezifischen Sinn in den Kirchengeschichten zu entfalten: Die Verhandlung der Kaiserfrömmigkeit durch den Fokus der antipaganen Aktivität ist eine der Sinnachsen, die die Sphären religiöser Doktrin und säkularer Politik miteinander verbindet. Den Kampf gegen die pagane Welt als gleichsam institutionalisierte Aufgabe des Kaisers vorzustellen, an der sich seine Orthodoxie beweist (oder eben nicht), knüpft traditionelles kaiserliches Handeln (etwa Gesetze oder Gewalteinsatz) ebenso effektiv wie exemplarisch an die Normen des religiösen Raumes. Als Demonstration des rechten Glaubens bestärkt die Schilderung von Tempelzerstörungen den Eindruck, daß religiöse Parameter das eigentliche Rückgrat historischen Geschehens darstellten.

III

In den vorangegangenen Überlegungen wurden sowohl das Phänomen der Tempelzerstörung in den Kirchengeschichten als auch die gattungstypischen Problemstellungen christlicher Historiographie jeweils als monolithische Einheit betrachtet. Diese Perspektive ist insofern vertretbar, als für beide Aspekte Züge zu konstatieren sind, die sich nicht aus der Eigenheit des einzelnen Autors erklären lassen. Andererseits aber verdeckt ein derartig allgemeiner, gleichsam irenisierender Rahmen die Binnenspannungen, die die Potenzen und Sollbruchstellen der Gattung Kirchengeschichte schärfer ausleuchten. Im folgenden Abschnitt soll es um in diesem Sinne wesentliche Differenzen zwischen den Kirchenhistorikern und um deren narrativen Sinn gehen. Im Zentrum wird dabei wiederum das prekäre Verhältnis zwischen äußerem Geschehen und religiösem Feld stehen.

[90] Rufin. *hist.* 10,37; 11,13; Soz. *h. e.* 2,3; 6,2.

Den verschiedenen Optionen, die die christliche Historiographie in dieser Sache zwischen Rufin und Theodoret hatte, kann man sich—wie ich finde—paradigmatisch mit einem Blick auf die Rhetorik der Buchgrenzen annähern. Daß das Ende eines Buches und der Beginn eines nächsten mehr ist als die pragmatische Binnengliederung eines unübersichtlichen Textes, versteht sich beinahe von selbst. Das würde sogar gelten, wenn der Stoff—scheinbar automatisch—nach (Amts-)Jahren gegliedert wäre, denn auch dieses Verfahren ist alles andere als ideologisch neutral.[91] In einer Gattung wie der Geschichtsschreibung, die historisches Geschehen nicht chronikartig organisiert, sondern Sinnstiftung und Erklärung zum expliziten Ziel hat, müssen vermittelnde Zäsuren geradezu zwangsläufig wesentliche Aussagen transportieren. Sie fügen die einzelnen narrativen Elemente zum *plot* zusammen und demonstrieren damit gleichzeitig die Parameter, nach denen die Erzählung organisiert ist.[92]

In der spätantiken Kirchengeschichtsschreibung war man sich über die Bedeutung der Buchgrenze für den Sinn des Textes durchaus im klaren. Das läßt sich nicht nur indirekt aus der Pragmatik der Zäsuren in den einzelnen Werken erschließen, sondern wird in einer metahistorischen Adnote von Theodoret explizit bekräftigt. Nachdem er ausführlich berichtet hat, wie groß der Jubel in Antiocheia über den Tod Kaiser Julians war, fährt er fort:

> Ich aber will nun mit der Freude über den Tod des Tyrannen dieses Buch schließen, denn ich halte es nicht für recht, eine christliche Regierung in unmittelbarem Anschluß an eine christentumsfeindliche Herrschaft zur Darstellung zu bringen.[93]

In dieser Maxime ist wohl keine bloße Selbstermahnung des Historikers zu sehen, sondern die prononcierte Absetzung von demjenigen, der genau das getan hat, was Theodoret inkriminiert: Sokrates, der im dritten Buch seiner Kirchengeschichte die Regierungszeit Julians und Jovians zusammenfügte. Wenn das Fehlen einer Zäsur als derart bedeutungsvoll wahrgenommen wurde, muß dasselbe für ihre Setzung gelten.

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[91] Siehe etwa Woodman 1988, bes. 186–190; Gotter 2003b, 120–124 (zu Cato und der römischen Annalistik).

[92] White 1990, bes. 11–39.

[93] Thdt. *h. e.* 3,28: ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ τυράννου χορείαν τέλος ἐπιθήσω τῇ συγγραφῇ· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον ὑπέλαβον εὐσεβοῦ συνάψαι βασιλείαν τῇ δυσσεβεῖ δυναστείᾳ (Übers. Seider 1926).

Worin aber lag die jeweils spezifische Semantik der Buchgrenzen in den Kirchengeschichten des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts? In dieser Sache markiert das Werk des Sokrates zweifellos den entscheidenden Einschnitt.[94] Denn seine Zäsuren erschlossen eine weitere Option für die Verklammerung von externem und spirituellen Geschehen. Auf den ersten Blick erscheint seine Synchronisierung von Buchgrenzen und Kaisertoden als ebenso unspektakulär wie selbstverständlich. Ein Blick auf seine Vorgänger indessen zeigt, wie revolutionär Sokrates' Binnengliederung war. Anders als bisweilen angenommen wurde,[95] gibt es für eine einigermaßen konsequente Zusammenführung von Kaisertod und Buchgrenze schlichtweg kein früheres Beispiel. Euseb hat zwar die Bedeutung der römischen Kaiser für die Etablierung des christlichen Glaubens und für den Erfolg der Kirche durchaus nicht gering geschätzt. Doch fällt nicht eine einzige Zäsur im Rahmen seiner die Kaiserzeit umspannenden Bücher (2–10) mit dem Tod eines römischen Herrschers zusammen. Der Rhythmus seiner Darstellung war eindeutig nicht derjenige der römischen Staatsgeschichte.[96] Der formale Bezug auf die Herrschaftsdaten der Kaiser dient bei ihm allein der zeitlichen Fixierung von Geschehen.

Rufinus, der Übersetzer und Fortschreiber Eusebs, läßt sein 11. Buch—und damit sein Geschichtswerk insgesamt—immerhin mit dem Tod des Theodosius enden. Daß darin aber kein System lag, zeigt das Ende des vorangegangenen Buches. Dabei geht es zwar grob um den Untergang Kaiser Julians, doch statt mit dem Tod des Apostatenkaisers schließt sein Buch 10 mit dem Scheitern des kaiserlichen Planes, den

[94] Anders in diesem Punkt Leppin 1996, 283 Anm. 1, der an Sokrates' Disposition nur wenig Kreativität findet. Auch Wallraff 1997, 151–152 hält Sokrates' Entscheidung in diesem Punkt für sachlich angemessen und im Grunde alternativlos und sieht—m. E. zu Unrecht—eine Bestätigung dafür in der ähnlichen Praxis von Sozomenos und Theodoret. Diese Position ist nur vor dem Hintergrund einer ungebrochenen Verbindlichkeit klassischer Geschichtsschreibung plausibel, nicht jedoch, wenn man die Entstehung und Entwicklung der neuen Gattung der Kirchengeschichte zur primären Folie nimmt.

[95] So Allen 1981, 52.

[96] Das 2. Buch endet mit dem Ergebnis des jüdischen Aufstands, das 3. Buch mit einem Überblick über das Werk des Papias, das 4. Buch mit dem Tod des römischen Bischofs Soter, das 5. Buch mit Eusebs Kritik an der Manipulation der Heiligen Schriften, das 6. Buch mit der Rolle und dem Werk des alexandrinischen Bischofs Dionysios, das 7. Buch mit der Bischofsdiadoche bis zur großen Christenverfolgung Diokletians, das 8. Buch mit dem Galerius-Edikt bzw. dem synoptischen Ende von vier Herrschern (Diokletian, Maximian, Galerius, Constantius), das 9. Buch mit dem Sieg von Konstantin und Licinius, das 10. Buch mit der unbestrittenen und segensreichen Herrschaft Konstantins.

jüdischen Tempel wiederaufzubauen. Das lästerliche Projekt des paganen Kaisers (und das göttliche Einschreiten dagegen) war für Rufin der Schlußstein seiner Sinneinheit, nicht das Ende des Kaisers selbst.

Auch Philostorgios blieb in den vorgezeichneten Bahnen. An seinen Buchenden stehen zwar teilweise Einschnitte des äußeren imperialen Geschehens, aber die dadurch konstituierten Sinnabschnitte sind weder die Bioi der Herrscher noch der Zustand des Reiches.[97] Vielmehr werden die Buchenden von Ereignissen beherrscht, die speziell für die Kirche relevant waren. Dabei ist kaiserliches Handeln durchaus präsent, wird aber nachdrücklich in seiner religiösen Dimension profiliert.[98]

Unter diesen Umständen tritt klarer vor Augen, mit welcher Konsequenz Sokrates die Buchenden durch Kaisertode markierte: Nicht nur, daß es bei ihm—bis auf das wohl noch zu Lebzeiten von Valentinian und Theodosius II. verfaßte 7. und letzte Buch—keine Ausnahme von dieser Regel gibt; auch die Art, wie Sokrates den Kaisertod am Ende seiner Bücher einsetzt, unterstreicht den Grad seiner Neuerung. Denn der Tod des jeweiligen Herrschers führt regelmäßig zu einer chronologischen Adnote, die erst den wirklichen Schlußpunkt des Buches setzt. So schreibt er am Ende von Buch 1, nachdem er das Begräbnis Konstantins geschildert hat:

> Kaiser Konstantin lebte 65 Jahre und regierte 31. Er starb während des Konsulats von Felicianus und Tatianus, am 22. Mai, im zweiten Jahr der 278. Olympiade. Dieses Buch umspannt daher einen Zeitraum von 31 Jahren.[99]

Dieser Rückblick auf den erzählten epochalen Abschnitt ist gewissermaßen seriell; er erscheint in sehr geringer Variation in Formulierung

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[97] Selbst wenn Philostorgios nur in Epitomen überliefert ist, lassen sich daraus doch Buchanfänge und Buchenden mit akzeptabler Sicherheit erschließen. Das einzige Buch, das—möglicherweise—mit einem Kaisertod endet, ist Buch 7, dessen Schlußbild der lästerlich sterbende Julian gewesen zu sein scheint. Ansonsten werden seine Buchenden durch folgende Geschehnisse gebildet: Eusebios geht ins Exil (Buch 1); Athanasios kehrt nach Konstantins Tod zu seiner Kirche zurück (Buch 2); Gallus und seine Frau lassen den Praefectus Praetorio Domitian und seinen Assessor Martinus töten (Buch 3); die Synode von Konstantinopel (Buch 4); Constantius II. setzt den Häretiker Euzoios in Alexandria ein (Buch 5); Julian ruft den von Gallus verbannten Aetios zurück (Buch 6); Vergleichung von Aetios und Eunomios (Buch 8); Theodosius stellt nach seinem Sieg über die Barbaren die Kirchenordnung in Konstantinopel wieder her (Buch 9); Isaurierunruhen in Kleinasein (Buch 11); Karriere des Generals Aetius (Buch 12). Das Ende von Buch 10 fehlt in der Epitome.

[98] So am Ende von Buch 1, Buch 2, Buch 4, Buch 5, Buch 6, Buch 9.

[99] Socr. *h. e.* 1,40 (Übers. U. Gotter).

bzw. Anordnung am Ende eines jeden Kaisers. Selbst Julian, der nicht am Ende eines eigenen Buches steht, wird in der Mitte von Buch 3 auf ganz ähnliche Weise historiographisch zu Grabe getragen:

> So beendete Julian sein Leben in Persien, wie wir berichtet haben, während seines vierten Konsulats, das er gemeinsam mit Sallust bekleidete. Das Ereignis geschah am 26. Juni, im dritten Jahr seiner Herrschaft und im siebenten, nachdem er von Constantius zum Caesar gemacht worden war. Er war damals in seinem 31. Jahr.[100]

Daß auch das Ende des Apostatenkaisers narrativ nicht anders gestaltet wird als die Tode der übrigen Kaiser, ist bezeichnend und unterscheidet Sokrates von seinen Vorgängern. So zieht nicht der Jubel der Christen über das Ableben des Herrschers den Schlußstrich unter Julian oder das gescheiterte jüdische Tempelprojekt oder Erwägungen über göttliche Strafe, sondern die Erzählung seines faktischen innerweltlichen Endes.[101] Der Kaisertod als Epoche ist nicht das Medium eines höheren Sinnes; er steht als chronologischer und gliedernder Eckpfosten für sich. Natürlich ist dieser formalisierte Umgang mit den römischen Herrschern in der Historiographie keine Technik ohne inhaltliche Aussage. Im Gegenteil: Damit unternimmt es Sokrates, die Regierungszeit der Kaiser als durchgehendes Ordnungsprinzip der Kirchengeschichte zu implementieren. Der Raum, in welchem sie agieren, und das Feld von Religion und Kirche werden auf diese Weise enger geführt als jemals zuvor. Bei Sokrates ist das äußere Geschehen nicht nur akzidentiell, sondern institutionell ein Teil der Kirchengeschichte geworden.

Sozomenos' Kirchengeschichte zeigt die wohl komplexeste und elaborierteste Rhetorik der Buchgrenze, die das Genre überhaupt aufzuweisen hat.[102] Sein Arrangement wäre allerdings ohne Sokrates' formalisiertes Standardende nicht denkbar gewesen: Sozomenos spielte auf der von seinem Vorgänger etablierten Klaviatur. Auch er instrumentalisiert grundsätzlich Kaisertode als Buchenden: Buch 2 endet mit dem Tod von Konstantin, Buch 6 mit dem Tod von Valens, Buch 7 mit dem Tod von Theodosius I. Ein durchgängiges automatisiertes

[100] Socr. *h. e.* 3,21 (Übers. U. Gotter).
[101] Socr. *h. e.* 3,26.
[102] Hierzu anders Leppin 1996, 283–290, der den relativen Höhepunkt des Formwillens bei Theodoret erblickt. Dieser Beurteilung kann ich mich weder für Sozomenos noch für Theodoret anschließen, wobei sich die Inkongruenz allerdings hauptsächlich daraus ergibt, daß ich als Parameter für „Form" den Grad der Integration von Mustern der klassischen Geschichtsschreibung ins Genre der Kirchengeschichte gewählt habe.

Schema allerdings bildet das Herrscherende bei ihm nicht. Besonders auffällig ist die Beobachtung, daß der Tod einiger Kaiser unmittelbar nach einem Buchende erzählt wird. So stirbt Constans im ersten Kapitel des 4. Buches, Constantius II. im ersten Kapitel des 5. Buches, Julian wird im ersten Kapitel von Buch 6 verwundet und stirbt im zweiten, Arcadius wiederum im ersten Kapitel des 9. Buches. Insbesondere die außerordentlich enge räumliche Verbindung dieser Kaisertode zu einem Buchende lassen das Verfahren absichtsvoll erscheinen. Das Ableben der erwähnten Herrscher stellt damit prononciert keine gliedernde Zäsur dar. Verstärkt wird die Auffälligkeit noch durch die spezifische Aufladung der Buchenden unmittelbar vor diesen Kaisertoden. Hierbei handelt es sich ausnahmslos um für die Kirche sehr bedeutungsvolle Ereignisse. Das Ende von Buch 3 (vor dem Tod des Constans) berichtet die Rückkehr des Athanasius nach Ägypten; Buch 4 (vor dem Tod des Constantius) schließt mit einem Vorgriff auf die spätere Wiedereinsetzung Kyrills in Jerusalem; Buch 5 (vor dem Tod des Julian) erzählt ausführlich über die Bekehrung vieler Juden nach dem Brand der Tempelbaustelle in Jerusalem; Buch 8 (vor dem Tod des Arcadius) endet mit dem Ableben des Johannes Chrysostomus.

Was Sozomenos mit dem flexiblen Einsatz des Kaisertods am Buchende bewirkt, liegt unter diesen Umständen eigentlich auf der Hand. Er produziert eine Hierarchie zwischen Kaisern, deren Leistung ihre Lebensspanne in eine Epoche verwandelt, und solchen, für die das nicht gilt.

Geht man die Bücher durch, wird ziemlich klar, wie seine Abstufungen funktionieren. Konstantin nimmt zwei ganze Bücher ein, wenn man das erste Kapitel des ersten Buches außer acht läßt, in dem Sozomenos das Proömium für das gesamte Werk und eine extrem lakonische Zusammenfassung der Geschichte der christlichen Kirche von ihren Anfängen untergebracht hat. Das erste Konstantin-Buch beginnt mit seiner Hinwendung zum Christentum und reicht bis zum Konzil von Nikaia. Auch dieser Einschnitt ist mit Bedacht gewählt: In mehreren Kapiteln wird die kaiserliche Rolle im Konflikt um den rechten Glauben herausgestrichen.[103] Auf diese Weise schließt das Buch mit dem Einsatz des Kaisers für die christliche Kirche. Der zweite Herrscher, der ein

[103] Soz. *h. e.* 1,16–25. Bezeichnenderweise ist die Rolle des Kaisers für das Konzil von Nikaia stark betont. Konsequent zeigt das letzte Kapitel nicht die Beschlüsse des Konzils, sondern Konstantin, wie er an die wichtigsten Bischofssitze über das Konzil schreibt und damit Frieden und Einheit herbeizuführen versucht.

ganzes Buch—aber nur eines—dominiert, ist Theososius I. Das 7. Buch beginnt mit der Situation des Reiches nach dem Tod des Valens in der Schlacht von Adrianopel und endet mit dem Tod des Theodosius, den Sozomenos mit der Angabe der Konsuln datiert. Daß unter diesen Umständen auch der Tod des Häretikerkaisers Valens ein Buchende markiert, ist kein Gegenargument gegen das vorgeschlagene Muster. Es war die einzige Möglichkeit, dem um die Kirche so verdienten Theodosius[104] ein ganzes Buch zuzuweisen. Damit die Positionierung des Todes von Valens keineswegs mißverstanden werden konnte, verknüpft Sozomenos dessen gewaltsames Ende unübersehbar mit dessen mangelnder Rechtgläubigkeit: Unmittelbar vor der Schlacht fordert der Mönch Isaak vom Kaiser ultimativ die Rückübertragung von Kirchen an die Orthodoxen und quittiert seine Einkerkerung—wegen Unverschämtheit—mit der Prophezeiung, Valens werde nicht zurückkehren, wenn er die Gotteshäuser nicht zurückgebe.[105] Danach kommt es, wie es kommen muß.

So konstituiert Sozomenos' flexible Handhabung der Buchgrenzen eine deutliche Hierarchie der Kaiser. Das Kriterium für ihre Beurteilung ist dabei unverhohlen ihre Leistung für die Kirche. Damit erreicht Sozomenos' Kirchengeschichte nicht nur eine—im Lichte des Genres—sehr sinnhafte Verknüpfung von geistlichem und weltlichem Geschehen, sondern drückt gleichzeitig eine Ordnung zwischen beiden Sphären aus. Die Bedeutung der Kirche und ihrer Funktionäre wird auch dadurch betont, daß bei Sozomenos berühmte Kirchenleute Buchenden besetzen anstelle von solchen Kaisern, die—aus der Perspektive des Historikers—eben nicht wie Konstantin und Theodosius Vorkämpfer der Rechtgläubigkeit waren und sich Verdienste um die Kirche ans Revers heften durften, die über das normale Maß hinausgingen. Vor Constantius und Julian, aber auch vor Constans, Jovian, Arcadius und Honorius rangieren Bischöfe wie Athanasius, Kyrill und Johannes Chrysostomos. Orthodoxe Kirchenmänner, nicht häretische Kaiser markieren die Chronologie des Zeitalters, lautet die implizite Botschaft von Sozomenos' Zäsuren.

Auf der Ebene formaler Organisation weit weniger ausgefeilt zeigt sich das Geschichtswerk Theodorets. Zwar waren die Buchgrenzen

[104] Soz. *h. e.* 8,1: Ὧδε μὲν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐξήσας ἐτελεύτησε Θεοδόσιος ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς, ἐκ τούτων δὲ δέκα καὶ ἓξ ἐβασίλευσε.
[105] Soz. *h. e.* 6,40.

auch für ihn durchaus relevant,[106] doch lud er sie eher mit explizitem normativen Urteil auf statt sie als Rückgrat seiner Geschichtsauffassung zu inszenieren oder als Gelegenheit zum verweisenden Sprechen zu nutzen. Aus den ersten drei Buchenden macht er geradezu eine Moritat guter und schlechter Kaisertode. Das erste Buch schließt mit Konstantins Ende oder besser mit seinem Nachruhm, der aus der Reverenz des Kaisers gegenüber Gott resultiere: Für diesen Zusammenhang zitiert Theodoret ein Gotteswort aus 1 Könige: „Wer mich ehrt, den werde ich ehren, und wer mich verachtet, der wird verachtet werden."[107] Der aus der Perspektive des Historikers heterodoxe Constantius II. dagegen stirbt am Ende des 2. Buches in Trauer um sein Geschick: „Denn er hatte den nicht zum Helfer, den ihm sein Vater hinterlassen hatte, da er das väterliche Erbe der frommen Rechtgläubigkeit nicht unversehrt bewahrte. Darum bereute er (im Sterben) bitterlich klagend den Wechsel (seines Glaubens)."[108] Das Ende des 3. Buches ist gewissermaßen die Inversion des 1., denn spiegelbildlich zur Trauer um Konstantin beschließt es Theodoret mit dem Jubel über den Tod Julians. Dessen Apostasie und ihre schlimmen Folgen für ihn selbst, will er, wie er explizit versichert, durch die Zäsur ins rechte Licht rücken.[109]

Nach diesem Katalog kaiserlicher *paradeigmata* scheint die ausdifferenzierte Buchgrenze für Theodoret allerdings erheblich an Bedeutung verloren zu haben. Er gelangt mit nur 2 Büchern von 363 bis zum Endpunkt seiner Erzählung, und beide Buchenden sind nicht durch Kaisertode markiert. Buch 4 schließt mit einem Exkurs über den Ursprung des Arianismus bei den Goten, und Buch 5 endet mit einer Diadoche der Bischöfe. Kaisertode waren für den zweiten Teil seines Geschichtswerks offenbar keine profitablen Gliederungselemente. So bestimmt nicht das äußere Geschehen, der Zustand des Imperiums oder die Kaisergeschichte, den *plot* seiner Darstellung: Weder Adrianopel noch der (schlechte) Tod des Valens setzen den Schlußpunkt von Buch 4, sondern die theologischen Debatten um die arianische „Häresie" bei den Goten. Noch programmatischer erscheint das Ende von Buch 5 und damit des gesamten Werkes. Der Bischof von Kyrrhos schließt seine Darstellung, indem er seine Amtsgenossen aus den großen Städten des Reiches (Rom, Antiocheia, Alexandria und Konstantinopel) seit

[106] Siehe o. Anm. 65 n. 93; Leppin 1996, 287–290.
[107] Thdt. *h. e.* 1,34: 1 Kön 2,80 (Übers. Seider 1926).
[108] Thdt. *h. e.* 2,33 (Übers. Seider 1926).
[109] Thdt. *h. e.* 3,28; s. dazu o. Anm. n. 93.

dem Ende der großen Verfolgung in ihrer orthodoxen Folge aufzählt. Die Botschaft ist unverkennbar: Der Zustand der Kirche, verkörpert durch das Thema der Rechtgläubigkeit und die wichtigsten kirchlichen Institutionen, bildet die Klammer seiner Geschichtsdarstellung.

Betrachtet man die Rhetorik der Buchenden bei den Kirchenhistorikern von Euseb bis Theodoret aus der Vogelperspektive, zeichnen sich zwei Muster für das inszenierte Verhältnis von äußerem Geschehen und dogmatischer bzw. innerkirchlicher Entwicklung ab. Auf der einen Seite, so vor allem bei Philostorgios, Rufin und Theodoret, vermitteln die Zäsuren eine weitgehende Distanz beider Sphären: Die Kaisergeschichte kann zwar punktuell relevant für den Puls der Kirchengeschichte erscheinen, doch als ihr Rückgrat oder Rahmen wird sie nicht inszeniert. Innen und Außen sind zwar Teil derselben Geschichte, stehen aber durchaus nebeneinander. Auf der anderen Seite, unübersehbar bei Sokrates und tendenziell auch bei Sozomenos, wird über die formalen Zäsuren eine stärkere Durchdringung bzw. Verschmelzung beider Sphären versucht. Geschichte nach diesem Entwurf hat zwei eng miteinander verknüpfte Pole.

Dieses Ergebnis der formalen Textanalyse bestätigt sich, wenn man explizite Aussagen zu Kaiser und Kirche sowie inhaltliche Schwerpunktsetzungen in den Kirchengeschichten hinzunimmt. Natürlich und notwendigerweise schreiben alle Kirchenhistoriker über äußeres Geschehen, nicht zuletzt deswegen, weil für die christliche Gemeinschaft relevante Entscheidungen auch außerhalb der partikularen Institution Kirche fielen. Der Stellenwert dieser Schilderungen und ihre Reichweite allerdings ist von Autor zu Autor sehr verschieden. So nehmen Kaiserhandeln und Reichsgeschichte bei Sokrates und Sozomenos einen nicht unerheblichen Raum ein und entfalten einen beträchtlichen Sinnüberschuß, der durchaus nicht immer unmittelbar auf die religiöse Sphäre verweist. Kirchengeschichte ist bei ihnen auch Hof-, Politik- und Kriegsgeschichte.[110] Bei Rufin und vor allem bei Theodoret wird dieses Feld weitaus sparsamer bestellt. Das äußere Geschehen wird zugunsten innerkirchlicher, theologischer und—bei Theodoret—auch dogmatischer Fragen deutlich marginalisiert. Reichspolitik und Kaiser-

[110] Etwa Socr. *h. e.* 2,41 (Ernennung des Honoratus); 2,47; (Julian in Gallien); 3,1; 3,21 (Julians Persienzug); 4,3 (Tod Valentinians); 4,34 (Goteneinfall); 5,11–12; 14 (Gratian, Maximus und Theodosius); 5,25 (Eugenius vs. Theodosius); 6,6 (Gainas-Affäre); 7,10 (Alarich); Soz. *h. e.* 5,2 (Julian); 6,1 (Persienfeldzug); 6,38 (Sarazenenkrieg); 7,24 (Theodosius vs. Eugenius); 8,4 (Gainas); 9,4–6 (Perser, Hunnen, Goten); 9,8 (Attalos).

geschichte bleiben aus der Perspektive dieser Werke tendenziell ein klar identifizierbares Draußen.[111]

Diese markante Trennung hat Konsequenzen. Sie wirft geradezu notgedrungen die Frage nach dem Verhältnis beider Sphären zueinander auf. Und eine auf diese Weise gestellte Frage läßt wenig Spielräume für eine Antwort zu: Im Lichte des christlichen Glaubens, der die explizite Basis der Kirchengeschichte ausmacht, kann kein Zweifel daran bestehen, daß das säkulare Geschehen dem im engeren Sinn religiösen, also dem die Kirche und ihre Protagonisten betreffenden, normativ nachgeordnet sein muß. In diesem Sinne impliziert eine klare Trennung der Sphären gleichzeitig die prinzipielle Rhetorik der Unterordnung. Vehikel dieser Position ist das Bild des Herrschers, als des höchsten Exponenten weltlicher Macht. Insbesondere eine latent kritische Beurteilung der kaiserlichen Person und ihres Handelns demonstriert wirksam das normative System, in das auch der Kaiser eingeordnet war und in dem er sich zu beweisen hatte. Das betrifft natürlich mit aller Gewalt diejenigen Herrscher, deren Position als häretisch eingestuft wird. „Schlechte" Kaisertode und Strafwunder als göttliche Kommentare sind daher bei den Advokaten einer Sphärentrennung sehr prominent. Profitabler als die literarische Abrechnung mit den Häretikern aber war eigentlich die Re-Positionierung von Kaisern, die als ebenso fromm wie orthodox galten. So billigt gerade Theodoret Konstantin und Theodosius I., den Ikonen des neuen Kaisertums, keine makellose Conduite zu. Der Fleck auf Konstantins Weste ist die Verbannung des Athanasius,[112] die Kritik an Theodosius entzündet sich vor allem an dem Massaker von Thessaloniki, für das der Kaiser vom Mailänder Bischof Ambrosius zur öffentlichen Buße gezwungen wird.[113] Es ist bezeichnend für die Stoßrichtung der Erzählung, daß in beiden Fällen dem kritisierten Kaiser Kirchenmänner gegenüberstehen, die über alle Kritik erhaben sind: Der makellose Bischof rückt selbst den besten Kaiser in die richtige Perspektive.

Damit ist auch festgelegt, was einen frommen und affirmierten Herrscher im Grundsatz ausmacht: die Einsicht in die grundsätzliche Überordnung der spirituellen Sphäre und die entsprechende Behandlung der Kirche mitsamt ihrer Protagonisten. Ganz in diesem Sinne

[111] Leppin 1996, 290.
[112] Thdt. *h. e.* 1,31–33.
[113] Thdt. *h. e.* 5,17–18.

sind die „guten Kaiser“, vor allem Konstantin und Theodosius I., bei Rufin und Theodoret abgebildet. Sie dienen den Interessen der Kirche, zeigen verdienten Bischöfen und Mönchen ihre Reverenz und weisen den kirchlichen Institutionen die Entscheidungen in Fragen des Glaubens und der Kirchenorganisation zu.[114] Ein wesentliches Thema ist die Schilderung der Frömmigkeit und Rechtgläubigkeit der „guten“ Herrscher, und diese schließt immer die Demut bzw. Selbstdemütigung des in der Welt mächtigsten Mannes vor der göttlichen Instanz ein. „Gute“ Kaiser lassen ihre Siege als Werke Gottes erscheinen,[115] bekennen ihre Fehler und tun Buße.[116] In diesem Sinne dient die Schilderung äußeren Geschehens vornehmlich dazu, die Bedeutung des Glaubens, der Rechtgläubigkeit und der Kirche hervorzuheben.

Die Kirchengeschichten von Sozomenos und insbesondere von Sokrates vermitteln ein erheblich anderes axiomatisches System. Eine scharfe Trennung zwischen äußerem und innerreligiös-kirchlichem Geschehen wird weitgehend aufgehoben oder zumindest verwischt, bei Sozomenos implizit, bei Sokrates als offen formuliertes und als historische Methode präsentiertes Konzept. Zwar proklamiert auch letzterer, er wolle nicht alle Taten des Kaisers aufschreiben, sondern nur diejenigen, die mit dem Christentum und der christlichen Kirche verbunden seien,[117] doch legt er diesen Grundsatz programmatisch äußerst weit aus. In der Vorrede zu Buch 5 macht er daraus ein historiographisches Prinzip. Es gebe nämlich, argumentiert er, einen untrennbaren inneren Zusammenhang zwischen den Bewegungen und Verwerfungen im Feld des Staats und in demjenigen der Kirche. „Immer wenn die Angelegenheiten des Staates verwirrt waren, sind auch diejenigen der Kirche, wie durch eine elementare Sympathie (*sympatheia*), in tiefe Unordnung geglitten.“[118] Die Richtung der Beeinflussung sei dabei keineswegs festgelegt; die Störungen würden nahezu gleichzeitig auftauchen, und manches Mal gehe die Bewegung von der Kirche aus, in anderen Situationen wiederum

[114] Rufin. *hist.* 10,8; Thdt. *h. e.* 5,25.
[115] Thdt. *h. e.* 5,25.
[116] Rufin. *hist.* 10,2; 10,4; 10,5; 10,8; 11,1; 11,18; Thdt. *h. e.* 1,7; 1,11; 1,32; 5,18; 5,20; 5,39.
[117] Socr. *h. e.* 1,18.
[118] Socr. *h. e.* 5,1 (Übers. U. Gotter). Diese *sympatheia* als Prinzip historischen Geschehens deutet sich allerdings bereits früher in Sokrates' Kirchengeschichte an, wenn er nämlich im 2. Buch explizit das Zerwürfnis der Herrscher (zur Zeit Constantius' II.), das zu Krieg führt, mit dem Zerwürfnis der Bischöfe, das ebenfalls Gewalt zur Folge hat, parallelisiert (Socr. *h. e.* 2,26); zum *sympatheia*-Konzept s. a. Urbainczyk 1997b, 69–79; Wallraff 1997, 282–288.

vom Staat. Diese ständige gegenseitige Beeinflussung sei der Grund dafür, daß in seiner Darstellung so viele Ereignisse des Politischen in die Kirchengeschichte eingewoben seien.

Der Anspruch, äußeres Geschehen mit innerkirchlichen Entwicklungen eng zu verbinden, stellt in der erzählerischen Pragmatik erhebliche Anforderungen an Disposition und narratives Instrumentarium. In diesem Sinne setzten Sokrates und auch Sozomenos verschiedene Muster ein, um Reichsgeschichte für das Christentum oder die Kirche relevant werden zu lassen, und umgekehrt. Ein wesentlicher Kunstgriff war es dabei, äußeres Geschehen als religiös induziert oder mit unmittelbaren Konsequenzen für den religiösen Bereich darzustellen. So erschienen Kriege, äußere wie innere, als Konflikte um die rechte Religion oder als zumindest religiöse Propagandaschlachten.[119] Sokrates' Credo, daß die religiöse Haltung des Herrschers entscheidend für den Zustand von Kirche und Religion im Reich war, rechtfertigte es, den Hof und die dort herrschenden (Macht-)Verhältnisse zu beschreiben.[120] Ähnliches gilt für Skizzen des Charakters und der Biographie von Kaisern.[121] Die Bekehrung von Barbaren ermöglichte quasi-ethnographische Exkurse,[122] die immer wieder betonte Bedeutung des Kaiserschicksals für die Kirche ließ sogar die Beschreibung von militärischen Operationen und Schlachten relevant erscheinen.[123] Unverhohlen bilden die kaiserliche Zentrale *und* die wichtigsten Bischöfe der Kirche das Rückgrat des Imperiums.[124]

Diese enge Verbindung von Herrscher und Christentum macht eine strukturelle Kaiserkritik funktionslos. Selbst „häretische" Kaiser wie Constantius II. können tendenziell geschont werden, indem ihre Verirrungen stärker ihrer Umgebung zur Last gelegt werden als ihrer eigenen Disposition.[125] Noch stärker macht sich dieser Zug für das Bild der „frommen" Kaiser bemerkbar. Äußerst bezeichnend ist die Konfrontation Theodosius' I. mit Ambrosius wegen des Massakers von Thessaloniki. Bei Theodoret ist der *plot* der Erzählung die Demütigung des Kaisers durch den Bischof, die der mächtigste Mann der Welt, nach längerem Tauziehen und in weitgehender Passivität,

[119] Siehe o. n. 86; 87.
[120] Socr. *h. e.* 2,2; 2,41; 4,31; 6,6; Soz. *h. e.* 7,22; 8,4.
[121] Socr. *h. e.* 3,1; Soz. *h. e.* 5,2.
[122] Socr. *h. e.* 1,20; 4,33; 7,30; Soz. *h. e.* 2,24; 6,37.
[123] Socr. *h. e.* 3,21; 4,3; 4,34; Soz. *h. e.* 5,1; 6,1; 6,36; 6,38; 6,50.
[124] Socr. *h. e.* 1,11–13; 6,1.
[125] Siehe o. 54.

schließlich annimmt. Die Bedingungen für die Wiederaufnahme des Kaisers in die christliche Gemeinschaft diktiert Ambrosius seinem Herrscher: Das Gesetz, nach dem jeder kaiserliche Tötungsbefehl erst 30 Tage nach seiner Ausstellung vollstreckt werden dürfe, ist seine Idee.[126] Sozomenos erzählt die gleiche Geschichte anders: Nicht nur, daß er—statt des anklagenden Lamentierens über die Schwächen der menschlichen Natur, wie bei Theodoret—die politische Vorgeschichte der Affäre weitaus schärfer beleuchtet; bei ihm ist es der Kaiser, der sein Handeln aktiv und pragmatisch bereut und als Konsequenz der Affäre sein Rückversicherungsgesetz implementiert.[127] Sokrates löste das Problem noch radikaler: Er hat die Szene vor dem Mailänder Dom gleich ganz weggelassen.

Die enge Verwobenheit von Imperium und Kirche, von Politik und Religion, hatte Folgen für die Gattung: Der erhebliche Anteil äußeren Geschehens an der Kirchengeschichte ermöglichte (und bedingte) eine gesteigerte Nähe zu Parametern und Eigenheiten traditioneller Geschichtsschreibung. Diese Konstellation barg ebenso Potentiale wie Probleme. Zum einen konnte man viel entschlossener altbekannte und plausible narrative Muster und wirkungsvolle Elemente genretypischer Sinnstiftung einsetzen. Das betrifft Muster der Biographik ebenso wie die Tropologie von Kriegs- und Schlachtschilderungen,[128] eröffnete gefühlsmäßig besetzte Assoziationen wie die Gleichsetzung von Julians Ende mit dem Exempel der Tyrannentötung[129] und erlaubte dem Autor klassische Beglaubigungsstrategien, von deren Hochsitz aus man Vorgänger und Konkurrenten denunzieren und abkanzeln konnte.[130] Bezeichnenderweise waren damit sogar Omina zur Vorbereitung und Lenkung der Leser möglich.[131] Und es ist gewiß mehr als ein unwillkürliches und bedeutungsloses klassizistisches Ornament, wenn Sokrates Naturkatastrophen wie Hagel und Erdbeben als Spiegelung

[126] Thdt. *h. e.* 5,18.

[127] Soz. *h. e.* 7,25. Ein ähnliches Muster läßt sich für den Statuenaufstand in Antiochien ausmachen. Während Theodoret (Thdt. *h. e.* 5,20) die Rettung der Stadt der energischen und drohenden Demarche des Eremiten Makedonios zuschreibt, berichtet Sozomenos (Soz. *h. e.* 7,23) von einem theatralischen Appell des Antiochener Bischofs Flavianos, der die *philanthropia* des Kaisers stimuliert habe.

[128] Siehe o. 72.

[129] Soz. *h. e.* 6,2.

[130] Socr. *h. e.* 1,10; 6, praef.

[131] Socr. *h. e.* 1,16; 4,3; 4,11; Soz. *h. e.* 5,1; 5,21.

für den verheerenden Zustand der Kirche unter Valens inszeniert.[132] Die Nähe zur thukydideischen ‚*sympatheia*' zwischen der Unordnung der Natur und der Unordnung der menschlichen Gemeinschaften[133] ist hier mit Händen zu greifen.

Es wäre dennoch nicht viel mehr als die äußerliche Adaption des überkommenen Genres Historiographie unter neuen Vorzeichen, wenn nicht darüber hinaus in die Werke von Sokrates und Sozomenos ein ganz prinzipielles analytisches Muster der Geschichtsschreibung eingesickert zu sein schiene: die Art und Weise, wie Konflikte konstruiert wurden. Natürlich ist die Existenz von Konflikten selbst in der Gattung Kirchengeschichte absolut notwendig und vollkommen selbstverständlich. Schließlich hat bereits Euseb—womöglich seinerseits im Rekurs auf die bellozentrischen Traditionen der klassischen Historiographie—den Kampf zwischen Häresie und Orthodoxie zu einem zentralen Element seines Werks erklärt.[134] Und jenseits aller möglichen Rezeptionszusammenhänge kann man festhalten, daß die christliche Weltsicht geradezu prinzipiell eine binäre Grundstruktur vermittelt und damit die idealen Voraussetzungen für die Abbildung von Konflikten bereitstellt.[135] Doch begriff Euseb die innerchristlichen Kämpfe als wesenhaft dogmatisch und heilsgeschichtlich inspirierte Auseinandersetzungen. Sie sind bei ihm genuin religiöse Konflikte. In dieser Sichtweise sind ihm Rufin und Theodoret[136] weitgehend gefolgt. Anders stellt sich die Lage bei denen dar, die das äußere Geschehen mit dem innerchristlichen aufs engste verblendet haben. Bei Sozomenos und vor allem bei Sokrates wird der Kampf um den rechten Glauben massiv angereichert—und bisweilen sogar überlagert—durch den Kampf um die innerweltliche Macht. Das aber ist der unvermeidbare inhaltliche Kern jeder klassischen Historiographie, die das historische Kontinuum als Abfolge von äußeren und inneren Kriegen um die Herrschaft begreift. Ganz in diesem Sinn wird die Idee des Schismas bzw. der Stasis zu einem zentralen Motiv bei Sozomenos[137] und geradezu zum thematischen Rückgrat von Sokrates'

[132] Socr. *h. e.* 4,3; 4,11 Soz. *h. e.* 5,21. Charakteristisch für den Gestus eines traditionellen Historikers ist dabei zudem der distanzierte Gestus (s. dazu auch Van Nuffelen 2004, 239–242) von Sokrates' Schilderung (Socr. *h. e.* 4,11): τεκμήρια δὲ ἐδόκει εἶναι τὰ τῶν σεισμῶν τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ταραχῆς.

[133] Etwa Th. 1,23,2–3; s. dazu Trampedach 2003, Kap. 1,2; Meier 2005.

[134] Eus. *h. e.* 1,1,1.

[135] Vgl. Gotter 2003a, 205–211.

[136] Vgl. Leppin 1996, 253–254.

[137] Vgl. Leppin 1996, 244–246.

Kirchengeschichte.[138] Die Zerwürfnisse zwischen Kirchenfürsten, die ihre jeweiligen Gemeinden und Kommunen spalten, sind bei ihm nur zu oft durch menschlichen Ehrgeiz und dem unbedingten menschlichen Willen zur Macht motiviert,[139] religiöse Dogmen häufig nichts als ein bequemes Argument. So ist der Kampf um das Bischofsamt innerhalb derselben dogmatischen Richtung ein von ihm immer wieder notiertes— und eindringlich beklagtes—Phänomen.[140] Konsequenterweise kreiert er dem Motiv der *philotimia*, das die traditionelle Geschichtsschreibung prägt, ein prägnantes innerkirchliche Pendant: die *philoneikia* der Kirchenmänner[141] und—noch prägnanter—die *philokathedria*, die Gier nach dem Bischofssitz.[142] Unübersehbar wird Kirchengeschichte dem Deutungsmuster des (quasi-politischen) Machtkampfes unterworfen.

Mit einer solchen Melange aus innerem und äußerem Geschehen und ihren übergeordneten, beide Sphären umgreifenden Deutungsmustern konnte die Kirchengeschichte durchaus den Anspruch erheben, nicht nur das überkommene Genre der Historiographie um ein neues Thema, eine neue Sparte gewissermaßen, zu ergänzen. Die Werke von Sokrates und Sozomenos boten vielmehr einen zeitgemäßen Ersatz für die traditionelle Geschichtsschreibung, indem sie mit der christlichen Kirche als Fokus ihrer Darstellung eine neue und unbestreitbar äußerst relevante politische Größe ins Spiel brachten. Der ehrgeizige Anspruch manifestiert sich paradoxerweise gerade an narrativen Elementen, die

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[138] Siehe Leppin 1996, 227–228 und Wallraff 1997, 29–41, der die Terminologie dafür zusammengetragen hat. Gleichwohl bleibt das Thema „Kirchengeschichte als Stasisgeschichte" für Sokrates—wohl wegen des dominierenden theologisch-dogmatischen Zugriffs—in der Forschung durchaus unterbelichtet. Auch Allen 1990 scheint den Unterschied zwischen Sokrates und Theodoret im wesentlichen in abweichenden dogmatischen und personellen Präferenzen zu sehen, wobei sie die grundsätzlich verschiedene Konfliktkonstruktion in beiden Werken vollständig ausblendet. Van Nuffelen 2004, 112–113 und 123–124 wiederum sieht im Zentrum von Sokrates' Geschichtsauffassung die Idee des „universellen Friedens", ganz in der Traditon von Euseb und Origenes. Die Akzentuierung des Friedens als perspektivischer Angelpunkt der Analyse halte ich allerdings nur für bedingt tragfähig, da sich dadurch die Gewichtung unzulässig verkehrt. Der „universelle Friede" mag als theologische Projektsionsfläche zwar durchaus im Hintergrund von Sokrates' Kirchengeschichte stehen, tatsächlich aber—und das ist erklärungsbedürftig—schreibt er über das prononcierte Gegenteil: den innerchristlichen Unfrieden ohne dogmatische Not.

[139] Sehr markant in Socr. *h. e.* 3,25; 4,29; 5,9; 5,21.

[140] So etwa in Socr. *h. e.* 4,29: τούτου δὴ γενομένου διχόνοια τὸν λαὸν ἐκράτησεν· ἐστασίαζον οὖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς οὐ διά τινα πίστιν ἢ αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ μόνον τίς ὀφείλει τοῦ ἐπισκοπικοῦ θρόνου ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι.

[141] Wallraff 1997, 111–117 mit den Belegen.

[142] Socr. *h. e.* 5,21,13; vgl. Wallraff 1997, 201 Anm. 269 zu den beiden anderen Belegen für den Ausdruck bei Palladios und Kyrill von Alexandria.

offensichtlich konzeptionell quer stehen bzw. für den *plot* funktionslos erscheinen. In diesem Sinne auffällig sind vor allem die Kurzbiographien bedeutender Kirchenführer und Heiliger Männer, deren Leben und Taten häufig *en bloc* vorgestellt werden,[143] in der Regel angeschlossen durch Synchronismen: „Ungefähr zur selben Zeit…" oder: „Solche Charaktere schmückten die Kirchen in konstantinischer Zeit."[144] Das erzählte Leben oder Geschehnis ist weder in den diachronen *plot* eingebettet noch leistet es einen Beitrag zu den thematischen Akzenten von Sokrates oder Sozomenos (etwa den Zerwürfnissen in der Kirche). Wegen der Bedeutung der Gestalten in der christlichen Erinnerung konnten sie offenbar schlecht weggelassen werden; gleichzeitig aber waren derartige Passagen umso spürbarere Fremdkörper je historiographischer—in klassischem Sinn—die Kirchengeschichte wurde. Unter diesen Umständen verweisen die biographischen bzw. hagiographischen Exkurse einerseits erneut auf die strukturellen Probleme der revolutionären Gattung und sind andererseits—gerade indem sie als Fremdkörper erscheinen—Kronzeugen für den Nachdruck, mit dem das Unternehmen der *ekklēsiastikē historia* betrieben wurde.

IV

Um wieder unmittelbar—freilich nun aus einem neuen Blickwinkel—auf das Ausgangs-Thema der Überlegungen zurückzukommen: Daß die verschiedenen Optionen innerhalb der Gattung Kirchengeschichte keine Rückwirkungen auf die Schilderung der einzelnen Tempelzerstörung gehabt haben sollen, wäre kaum zu erwarten. Wie sich die differente Verknüpfung von innerem und äußerem Geschehen in der konkreten Darstellung des Einzelfalls niederschlagen konnte, soll abschließend anhand des prominentesten christlich-paganen Konflikts beleuchtet werden: der Übernahme des Serapeions in Alexandria. Dieses Beispiel bietet sich an, weil es zwischen Rufin und Theodoret das von allen Historikern am ausführlichsten erzählte ist und daher eine intensivere synoptische Lektüre ermöglicht. Auch hierbei geht es mir freilich nicht um eine Entscheidung darüber, wer von den Autoren der historischen Realität am nächsten gekommen sein mag.[145] Wesentlich für mein

[143] Socr. *h. e.* 4,23; 4,25–26; Soz. *h. e.* 1,10–14; 3,14–16; 6,28–34; 7,26–28.
[144] Soz. *h. e.* 1,10; 1,13.
[145] Siehe dazu HAHN in diesem Band.

Argument ist allein, wie das Ereignis in das jeweilige übergeordnete Sinnsystem eingepaßt wird.

Schon auf den ersten Blick ist auffällig, daß die Erzählungen auf nahezu allen Ebenen stark voneinander abweichen. Das gilt für die Chronologie des Konflikts ebenso wie für seine Mechanik: Offenbar hat weder der enge zeitliche Zusammenhang der Versionen noch der Bekanntheitsgrad des Ereignisses eine zumindest einigermaßen übereinstimmende Darstellung erzwungen. Unter diesen Umständen hängen die expliziten und impliziten Bewertungen, mit denen das Geschehen kommentiert wird, ganz entscheidend von den jeweils favorisierten Kausalitäten ab.

Rufin hat die elaborierteste Vorgeschichte zur Auseinandersetzung um das Serapeion.[146] Der Bischof von Alexandria, den Rufin, der wohl immerhin Augenzeuge der Affäre war, offenbar bewußt[147] nicht namentlich nennt, hat—auf Anfrage beim Kaiser—ein Gebäude in der Stadt zur Kultausübung erhalten. Bei dem Umbau werden im Untergeschoß Überreste finsterer paganer Kultausübung entdeckt. Diese zufällig aufgedeckten Zeugnisse ihrer religiösen Verirrungen und peinlichen Zeichen ihrer Schuld sind für die Paganen der Stadt nicht erträglich, und so beginnt, von ihren kollektiven Gewalttaten ausgehend, die paramilitärische Auseinandersetzung. Dabei seien die Christen zwar viel zahlreicher, aber aufgrund ihrer Religion auch viel friedfertiger gewesen, sodaß ihre Gegner das Übergewicht behielten. Von den Christen wurden im Laufe der Kämpfe viele verwundet, einige sogar getötet und etliche weggeschleppt, in den Serapis-Tempel, wo sich die Heiden verschanzten und anschließend ihre Gefangenen einem grausamen Martyrium zuführten. Die Intervention der städtischen Beamten blieb wirkungslos, und erst ein Brief des Kaisers, der zwar die verübten Verbrechen nicht mit Strafe bedrohte, doch die Demolierung der alexandrinischen Tempel anordnete, zersprengte die paganen Aufrührer. Die berühmte Serapisstatue, der man furchtsam magische Kräfte zuschrieb, wurde anschließend durch die mutige Initiative eines Soldaten vor aller Augen zerstört. Die Zerteilung und Verbrennung des Götzenbildes wiederum waren das Fanal für den Angriff auf weitere Schreine und pagane Kultplätze in Alexandria durch Priester, die die

[146] Rufin. *hist.* 11,22.

[147] Rufin nennt Theophilos nebenbei im Kapitel zuvor als Nachfolger des Timotheos auf dem Bischofssitz von Alexandria.

alten Götter dabei systematisch in ihrer Machtlosigkeit und Armseligkeit bloßstellten. Der Effekt davon wiederum war die Massenbekehrung der Paganen.

Der *plot* von Rufins Erzählung ist eindeutig: Der Kampf der Christen gegen die Heiden erscheint als der Kampf des echten Glaubens gegen die abergläubische Furcht, die die Götzenpriester in den Menschen erweckt haben. Aus dieser Perspektive sind auch die Heiden nicht grundsätzlich schlecht, sondern lediglich besessen von Angst und Schuld: Die Zerstörung des Serapeions indessen befreit sie vom jahrhundertealten Joch. Geburtshelfer dieser Emanzipation ist nach Rufins Darstellung der rechtgläubige Kaiser. Das scheint mir der wesentliche Grund für die markante Reduzierung der Rolle des Bischofs zu sein, nicht etwa eine demonstrative Distanz zu Theophilos, der wenige Kapitel später immerhin als Held im Kampfes gegen Kanopus auftreten darf.[148] So hat Rufins Konflikt um das Serapeion gewissermaßen ein *happy end*; die Auseinandersetzung in Alexandria erscheint bei allem damit verbundenen Leid als Weg in die neue bessere Welt: Geschichte ist hier Heilsgeschichte.

Einen ganz anderen Charakter hat das Blutvergießen in Alexandria bei Sokrates:[149] Die Serapeion-Affäre wird bei ihm zur düsteren Moritat von machtgesättigter Politik und sinnlosem religiösen Konflikt. Der Angelpunkt dieser Version ist Sokrates' durch und durch negative Bewertung des Theophilos: Im Prinzip erscheint die ganze Angelegenheit als Machination des alexandrinischen Bischofs zu seinen eigenen politischen und von *pleonexia* diktierten Zwecken. Bei Sokrates ist es Theophilos, der vom Kaiser die Anordnung erlangt, die paganen Heiligtümer zu zerstören und selbst durchzuführen. Dann provoziert er durch eine Prozession von paganen Kultobjekten bewußt den gewaltsamen Konflikt, bei dem wenige Heiden, aber viele Christen getötet werden; und schließlich läßt er pagane Götterbilder aus wertvollen Metallen in liturgische Gefäße (sic!) umschmelzen, obwohl der Kaiser eigentlich angeordnet hatte, mit dem Erlös des Plündergutes für die Armen zu sorgen. So wird der Bischof bei Sokrates geradezu zum Zerrbild eines Gottesmannes: Statt für Frieden sorgt er für Aufruhr, statt Demut verkörpert er den Willen zur Macht, statt an *caritas* liegt ihm an der Bereicherung der von ihm geführten kirchlichen Institution. Diese moralische Liquidierung des

[148] Rufin. *hist.* 11,26.
[149] Socr. *h. e.* 5,16.

Theophilos ermöglicht sogar eine Aufwertung der paganen Gegner; Indem Sokrates formuliert, daß die Paganen—und im besonderen die Philosophen—die provokative Ausstellung ihrer Götter nicht ertrugen,[150] weckt er gewissermaßen Verständnis für deren Gewaltanwendung. In eine ganz ähnliche Richtung geht sein Fazit am Ende des Kapitels: hier überlässt er es zwei heidnischen Intellektuellen, das Ereignis abschließend kommentieren. Ammonius, ein Grammatiker, als dessen Schüler sich Sokrates erklärt, darf sich über die unangemessene Demütigung der heidnischen Religion beklagen, und sein Kollege Helladios rühmt sich ungestraft, beim Aufruhr mit eigener Hand neun Gegner, also Christen, getötet zu haben.

So nimmt Sokrates in seiner Passage über die Zerstörung des Serapeions keine feste normative Differenzierung der Beteiligten entlang der Trennlinie „Christen versus Heiden" vor, sondern unterscheidet zwischen richtig und verwerflich Handelnden auf beiden Seiten. Wie realistisch und plausibel dieses Bild dem thukydideisch vorgebildeten Leser auch erscheinen mag: Wenn man davon ausgeht, daß die Reihenfolge des Geschehens so überliefert wurde, wie man es bei Rufin fassen kann, hat Sokrates, um es vorsichtig auszudrücken, die Tradition wesentlich umgearbeitet. Mir erscheinen dabei vor allem zwei Punkte wesentlich: Zum einen hat in seiner Darstellung Theophilos das Serapeion zerstört, bevor es zu den Ausschreitungen zwischen Christen und Heiden in Alexandria kommt; zum anderen vermehrt Sokrates die Zahl der Toten und Verwundeten gegenüber Rufin erheblich.[151] Sokrates' Version ist nicht nur deshalb verdächtig, weil sie von der des Zeitgenossen und Augenzeugen Rufin abweicht; die Szene des Gemetzels ist überdies extrem rhetorisiert: „Der Aufruhr dauerte fort, bis die

[150] Socr. *h. e.* 5,16: καὶ ἀνακαθαίρει μὲν τὸ Μιθρεῖον, καταστρέφει δὲ τὸ Σαραπεῖον. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Μιθρείου φονικὰ μυστήρια δημοσίᾳ ἐπόμπευε, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Σαράπιδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γέλωτος ἐδείκνυ μεστά, τοὺς φαλλοὺς φέρεσθαι κελεύσας διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς. ταῦτα οὕτω γενόμενα ὁρῶντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Ἕλληνες, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, τὴν λύπην οὐκ ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πάλαι δραματουργηθεῖσιν προσέθηκαν μείζονα.

[151] Rufin. *hist.* 11,22: *at nostri numero et potentia multo plures, sed modestia religionis minus feroces erant. ex quo frequenter nostrorum plurimis vulneratis, aliquantis etiam interfectis ad templum quasi ad arcem quandam refugiebant*; Socr. *h. e.* 5,16: ἀπώλοντο γὰρ ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ὀλίγοι, τῶν δὲ Χριστιανῶν σφόδρα πολλοί, οἱ δὲ τραυματίαι ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἦσαν ἀναρίθμητοι.

Ermüdung am Blutvergießen der Sache ein Ende setzte."[152] Und zu guter Letzt liegen beide Veränderungen auch normativ auf einer Linie: Die Vorab-Zerstörung des Serapeions belastet Theophilos als Verantwortlichen erneut schwer, und der hohe christliche Blutzoll unterstreicht Sokrates' negative Beurteilung der Affäre: Indem er die christlichen Verluste, die nach seiner Lesart auf das Konto des Theophilos gehen, ins Ungeheure vermehrt, will er den Bischof auch in den Augen derer disqualifizieren, die an einem gewaltsamen Konflikt gegen Pagane nichts grundsätzliches auszusetzen haben. Konsequent werden bei Sokrates die christlichen Opfer dieses Konflikts nicht zu Märtyrern verklärt, sondern bleiben sinnlos für Theophilos' Ziele Gestorbene. Dieser Punkt wird dadurch unterstrichen, daß der Historiker die Bekehrung alexandrinischer Heiden nach der Zerstörung des Serapeions in ein zweites Kapitel auslagert und an ein göttliches Zeichen bindet. Damit ist noch nicht einmal der Sieg über das Heidentum dem Bischof zuzurechnen. Theophilos, so ist die Botschaft, ist für die Christen Alexandrias kein Heil, sondern eine Katastrophe, der Aufruhr um das Serapeion ein Verbrechen.

Sozomenos' *plot* der Zerstörung des Serapeions ist uneindeutiger.[153] Auf der einen Seite sind bei ihm die Paganen weniger passiv als bei Sokrates und werden zusätzlich durch Schilderungen delegitimiert, wie sie gefangene Christen foltern und grausam töten; entsprechend erscheinen die gestorbenen Christen als Märtyrer für den rechten Glauben. Auf der anderen Seite findet Theophilos auch bei Sozomenos keine positive Würdigung. Obwohl der Historiker seinen Namen kennt,[154] bleibt der Bischof von Alexandria in der Passage über das Serapeion anonym. Und ist Theophilos bei Rufin noch ein argloser zufälliger Finder der düsteren Geheimnisse im Innern der alten Basilika, die er in eine Kirche umbauen wollte, erscheint er bei Sozomenos wie bei Sokrates als Provokateur, der durch die programmatische Verwandlung des Dionysos-Tempels und die kalkulierte öffentliche Verhöhnung des paganen Kultes die Gewalt in der Stadt ins Rollen bringt. Unter diesen Umständen wiegt es umso schwerer, daß der Bischof, nachdem er seinen

[152] Socr. *h. e.* 5,16: ἕως τε τοσούτου ἐξετάθη ἡ μάχη, ἕως οὗ κόρος τῶν φόνων τὸ γινόμενον ἔπαυσεν.

[153] Soz. *h. e.* 7,15.

[154] Er verzeichnet ihn etwa in unmittelbarer Nähe zur Passage über das Serapeion als Bischof von Alexandrien: Soz. *h. e.* 8,1. Als negative Figur des Geschehens um Johannes Chrysostomos zeigt Sozomenos dann endgültig, wie gut er Theophilos kennt (Soz. *h. e.* 8,2–3).

Konflikt bekommen hat, einfach aus der Erzählung verschwindet. Seine Bilanz ist daher durchaus negativ: Weil er die religiösen Auseinandersetzungen in der Stadt (*stasis*) bewußt geschürt hat, sind viele Christen getötet worden und die Heiden konnten sich im Serapeion verschanzen. Diese für die Rechtgläubigen vollständig verfahrene Situation wird erst durch den Kaiser in einen Sieg gewendet, der dann zur typischen Bekehrung Paganer in Alexandria führt.

So verbindet Sozomenos' Panorama die Version Rufins mit einzelnen Elementen der Tendenz, die Sokrates' Schilderung durchzieht. In der Abfolge des Geschehens und in den meisten Details folgt er der Tradition, die Rufin repräsentiert, und dokumentiert dadurch die bewussten Verkrümmungen des Sokrates. Gleichzeitig aber folgt er diesem—wenn auch deutlich unsystematischer und weniger explizit—in seinem Negativurteil über Theophilos, dessen Aktivitäten er auch später in seinem Werk immer wieder kritisch kommentiert. Der alexandrinische Bischof wird als Gegner von Johannes Chrysostomos ebenso aufs Korn genommen wie als Agitator und Stifter von gewaltsamen Unruhen in Konstantinopel. Staseis im Dienste des Glaubens sind auch bei Sozomenos nicht unbedingt ein Ruhmesblatt für die Kirche.

Daß die Beurteilung von Theophilos der wesentliche Angelpunkt für den Sinn der Serapeion-Affäre war, zeigt die Darstellung Theodorets.[155] Bei ihm ist die Sache ganz einfach, es gibt weder Ambiguitäten noch Konflikte, seine Schilderung geht vollständig im topischen Muster der Tempelzerstörungen auf. Wie er das Geschehen um das Serapeion erzählt, ist es eine weitere Geschichte des Sieges der Rechtgläubigkeit gegen die pagane Scharlatanerie, wobei der Bischof die tragende Rolle einnimmt. Bei Theodoret tritt Theophilos dem Götzenbild, das die übrigen Betrachter in Schrecken versetzt, als einziger furchtlos gegenüber und befiehlt einem anonym bleibenden Mann mit Axt, die Götterfigur zu zerschlagen. Das Ergebnis ist die Distanzierung der paganen Kultgemeinde von ihrem ehemaligen Gott und der Auftakt zur Zerstörung der Tempel „zu Wasser und zu Land". Den bahnbrechenden Erfolg der Aktion schreibt Theodoret allein Theophilos gut, der gleich zu Anfang des Kapitels programmatisch in die alexandrinische Bischofsdiadoche seit Athanasius eingeordnet und als „Mann von großem Verstand und tatkräftiger Gesinnung" gefeiert wird. Da der Kirchenmann die Zügel nie aus der Hand gibt, betritt der Kaiser

[155] Thdt. *h. e.* 5,23.

die Bühne überhaupt nicht. Wenn man die richtigen religiösen Führer hat, braucht man den weltlichen Herrscher in dieser Sache nicht, lautet die Botschaft Theodorets.

Und doch zollt Theodorets so völlig abweichende Darstellung den Werken von Sokrates und Sozomenos einen impliziten Tribut. Denn die Aufwertung des Bischofs bei ihm geht Hand in Hand mit dem vollständigen Verschweigen von Ausschreitungen in Zusammenhang mit der Serapeion-Affäre. Das Blutvergießen im religiösen Konflikt, das in den Kirchengeschichten seiner Vorgänger als problematisch gekennzeichnet wurde, kommt bei Theodoret einfach nicht vor. Dies aber läßt sich kaum anders deuten denn als intentionaler Reflex: Nachdem bei Sokrates und Sozomenos gewaltsamer Aufruhr mit Todesfolge so negativ besetzt ist, daß dadurch auch die Zerstörung eines heidnischen Heiligtums normativ überschattet wird, sieht sich Theodoret veranlaßt, den blutigen Konflikt schlichtweg zu verschweigen, um die Zerstörung des Tempels als etwas uneingeschränkt Gutes erscheinen zu lassen. Denn dies ist ein Credo, das für sein Werk ebenso unverhandelbar ist wie die Führungsrolle der Bischöfe im Kampf gegen Heidentum und Häresie.

V

Versucht man eine Bilanz des Gesagten, ergibt sich folgendes Bild: Tempelzerstörungen sind ein wichtiges Motiv der Kirchengeschichten, freilich nicht so sehr, weil es in den Kirchengeschichten wesentlich um Tempelzerstörungen gehen würde, sondern weil der Umgang mit Tempelzerstörungen auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen anzeigt, worum es in Kirchengeschichten eigentlich geht. Auf der Aussageebene ordnet sich die Rede über das Vorgehen gegen pagane Kultplätze in den Diskurs über die kaiserliche Rechtgläubigkeit ein. Tempelzerstörungen, die privilegiert auf den Herrscher bezogen sind, bieten gewissermaßen einen vermeintlich objektiven und konsensfähigen Maßstab, an dem sich die religiöse Haltung des Monarchen jenseits der dissoziierenden Häresiedebatten beurteilen und kommunizieren läßt. Dieses verweisende Sprechen über die Tempelzerstörungen des Kaisers macht gleichzeitig—auf der strukturellen Ebene—deutlich, um welche Leitfragen sich die neue Gattung der Kirchengeschichte formiert hat: Tempelzerstörung, so wurde argumentiert, liefert eine der Sinnachsen, mit deren Hilfe kaiserliches Handeln an religiöse Überzeugungen zurückgebunden und

entsprechend religiös motiviert wird. Diese spezifische Kausalität wiederum ist konstitutiv für das Genre: Denn erst durch die Verknüpfung von innerem (kirchlichem) und äußerem (weltlichen) Geschehen läßt sich das Potential der traditionellen Gattung Geschichtsschreibung für die neuen Themen und die veränderte Konstruktion von Geschehen unter christlichen Vorzeichen nutzbar machen. Auf diese Weise kann Kirchengeschichte als neues Instrument verschriftlichter Erinnerung Heilsgeschichte und Reichsgeschichte miteinander verknüpfen. Diese Konstruktion ist allerdings nicht nur die allgemeine Basis der neuen Gattung, sondern bietet gleichzeitig weiterführende Optionen der Binnendifferenzierung an. Wie intensiv die Verknüpfung zwischen Religion und Welt gestaltet wird, bestimmt ganz wesentlich den Charakter der einzelnen Kirchengeschichten. Hier bilden Sokrates und Theodoret die beiden Enden der Skala: Während Sokrates tendenziell eine vollständige Verblendung beider Sphären versucht—und damit die unvermeidliche Spannung zwischen religiösen Erklärungsmustern und den Kausalitätsmodellen der traditionellen Geschichtsschreibung in Kauf nimmt—, zelebriert Theodoret eine weitreichende Autonomie kirchlichen Geschehens mit nur gelegentlichen Brückenschlägen zur Reichsgeschichte. Daß damit Urteile über die heilsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der weltlichen Institutionen verbunden sind, liegt auf der Hand.

Abschließend ist an einer prominenten Tempelzerstörung—der des Serapeions in Alexandrien—argumentiert worden, welche Auswirkungen die spezifische Verknüpfung von innen und außen, von religiös und politisch, auf die Darstellung des Erzählten selbst hat. Die Differenzen, die eine synoptische Lektüre der Kirchenhistoriker hier zutage fördert, lassen sich kaum anders denn als konsequente und dem eigenen Konzept von Geschichte folgende intentionale Umdeutungen verstehen. Daß die Richtungen der Retuschen und Sinnverschiebungen nur identifiziert werden können, weil man für diesen Fall die einzelnen Versionen nebeneinander legen kann, unterstreicht die Risiken, die sich mit der Benutzung von Kirchengeschichten für die Rekonstruktionen religiöser Konflikte insgesamt verbinden. Die sekundäre semantische Aufladung der Tempelzerstörung im Rahmen der Gattung verbaut strukturell den Zugriff auf die vielbeschworene „historische Realität". Dafür allerdings gibt sie den Blick frei auf die Realität historischer Diskurse.

Tabelle: Zerstörungen einzelner Heiligtümer bei den Kirchenhistorikern

Heiligtum	Euseb (*v. Const.*)	Rufininus	Sokrates	Sozomenos	Theodoret
Jerusalem, Aphrodite	3,26–29	10,7–8	1,17	2,1–2	1,16–18
Mambre	3,52–53		1,18	2,4	
Aphaka, Aphrodite	3,55		1,18	2,5	
Heliopolis, Aphrodite	3,58		1,18	5,10	3,3
Aigaiai, Asklepios	3,56–57		1,18	2,5	
Alexandria, Serapeion (?) Götterbilder (Artemius/ Constantius II.)			3,3		3,18
Kaisareia (Kappadokien)				5,4	
Alexandria, Mithräum			3,2	5,7	
Arethusa				5,10	3,7
Meiros/Misos (Phrygien)			3,15	5,11	
Daphne, Apollon		10,36	3,18–19	5,19–20	3,10–13
Nilinsel		11,4	4,24	6,20	4,21
Alexandria, Serapeion (Theophilos/Theodosius)		11,23	5,16–17	7,15	5,23
Alexandria, Dionysos-Tempel		11,24		7,15	
Alexandria, Saturn		11,25			
Kanopos, Osiris		11,26			
Apameia/Aulon				7,15	5,22

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CHAPTER FOUR

FROM TEMPLE TO CELL, FROM GODS TO DEMONS: PAGAN TEMPLES IN THE MONASTIC TOPOGRAPHY OF FOURTH-CENTURY EGYPT

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That Christian monks were among the most active agents in the destruction of pagan temples is a fact that historians of late antiquity know very well, so well that we can assume monastic involvement in the demolition of a temple even when there is "no evidence" for it.[1] "It was really monks and their abbots," we conclude, "who inspired the most drastic demolitions."[2] Even looking only at Egypt, one can find well documented examples that support this fact—the activities of Shenoute in and around Panopolis before and after the start of the fifth century—and others that are more ambiguous—the attack on the Serapeum in Alexandria in the early 390s and the destruction of the Isis temple in Menouthis in 485. But Peter Brown has suggested that some of our sources, such as Libanius's famous account of the "black-robed men who eat more than elephants," may refer to monks in connection with anti-temple violence because they were convenient scapegoats: as laymen, they did not enjoy the privileges granted to the clergy and thus "were the one segment of the Christian church who could be convincingly accused by non-Christians of *latrocinium*, the use of force unsanctioned by the Roman state."[3] Moreover, just as we routinely take into account regional differences in our assessments of the roles of government officials and bishops in anti-pagan activities,[4] so too we should not attribute a propensity to anti-pagan violence to monks *qua*

[1] Fowden 1978, 67, discussing the destruction of the temple to Zeus in Apamea led by Bishop Marcellus ca. 386. For their comments and suggestions I am grateful to the other participants in the colloquium, especially Stephen Emmel, David Frankfurter, and Johannes Hahn.

[2] Frankfurter 1998, 283.

[3] Lib. *or.* 30.8; Brown 1998, 647.

[4] This is a theme of Fowden 1978.

monks, but should assume a range of possible attitudes toward pagan rituals and sites among monastic groups and investigate how and why violent events took place. For example, even when historians recognize that Libanius offers us direct evidence only for late fourth-century Syria, his account often provides the basic theme against which incidents in very different contexts, such as the Alexandrian Serapeum, are set.[5]

In fact, if we turn to the monastic sources themselves, we often find ambivalence about monastic violence against temples. To be sure, monastic authors may have wanted to conceal acts of monastic violence as much as non-monastic authors wished to highlight them. But even such concealment would indicate that enthusiasm for anti-pagan violence among monks was not unanimous. In this essay I will first explore the roles of pagan temples in the monastic literature that emanated from the fourth- and early fifth-century monastic communities of Scetis and Lower Egypt, especially the *Apophthegmata patrum*. My primary question is, how did temples function in the topography of this form of Egyptian monasticism, which was shaped as much by the opposition between "desert" and "world" as by that between "Christian" and "pagan"? I examine stories about monks visiting temples, staying overnight in them, and even living in them, stories in which the temple, as the headquarters for the demonic adversaries of the monk, plays a useful role in the monastic program of self-formation. I then turn to accounts of anti-pagan activities, especially the attack on the Serapeum, and find that, while an opposition to images may have motivated some monks to participate in violence against temples, for others such activities were problematic because they drew the monk away from the desert and into the world. As temple attacks served bishops as a means of uniting a fractious Christian community, monks naturally joined in them, and such attacks became a standard episode in monastic hagiography. Finally, the title of this book suggests that temple destruction and the renewal of the Mediterranean's cultic topography in late antiquity represented a movement from the temple to the church. At least some monks were engaged in a related but distinct project of movement from the temple to the cell.

Monastic literature is no less shaped by rhetorical strategies and political and/or spiritual agendas than other forms of ancient litera-

[5] E.g., Fowden 1978, 67–71. I do not mean to single this article out for special criticism; its excellence makes it a good example of this general trend.

ture, and thus likewise does not provide us with direct access to actual events. Scholars have questioned the use of the *Apophthegmata patrum* in particular as evidence for fourth-century monasticism in Egypt because the collections as we have them now were first written down no earlier than the second half of the fifth century in Palestine, after a long process of oral transmission and collection, and because the first Origenist controversy may have encouraged the compilers to play down certain (especially intellectual) aspects of monastic life.[6] But to acknowledge these problems is not to say that, taken as a whole, the *Apophthegmata* distort the spirituality and general conditions of monastic life as it existed in Scetis and Lower Egypt in the fourth century. There is evidence that the transmission of teachings and anecdotes orally and the transition to written collections constituted part of a self-conscious effort to preserve a faltering communal identity.[7] A group of monks centered around Poemen, under whose name more than 200 *apophthegmata* are transmitted, may have been leaders in this effort.[8] This suggests both a reasonable degree of reliability in the transmission of the sayings as well as some distortion due to (collective) authorial intention—in other words, the typical situation when looking at any piece of ancient literature. My discussion here does not depend on the historicity of any particular anecdote that I adduce since our subject is primarily monastic spirituality or cultural imagination, not events as they "actually happened." Moreover, I do not claim that the eremitical and semi-eremitical monks of northern Egypt that I study here were typical of all monks: there were no "typical" monks, whether the temple-attacking fanatics of some scholars or the more reluctant opponents of paganism of this essay.

I understand topography to be the process by which a culture maps its terrain, organizes spaces, and so articulates hierarchies of value. It is the molding of the natural terrain into a landscape and thus fundamentally a work of the imagination.[9] Like all elements in a culture, any given topography is usually not monolithic, but a site of overlap or contestation among different viewpoints. A single social group can

[6] See e.g. Sheridan 2002, 10. On the development and composition of the *Apophthegmata*, see the summary in Guy 1993, 23–35, 79–84.

[7] Gould 1993, 5–25.

[8] See most recently Harmless 2000.

[9] Goehring 2003 applies this perspective to the concept of the desert in early monastic literature.

attribute different topographical meanings to the same site, and multiple groups can come into conflict over how to define the same space. In examining monks and temples in Lower Egypt, we find at least two topographical concepts in interaction. The first is indeed, as the title of this volume suggests, cultic—the mapping of space in sacred or supernatural terms so that certain sites, such as temples or churches, became privileged locations for (ritualized) human interaction with the divine or supernatural. Scholars such as Jonathan Z. Smith and David Frankfurter have explored how this cultic topography was shifting in our period: for example, the rituals that we call "magical spells" enabled a portability in the creation of such privileged ritual space.[10] Frankfurter has emphasized the role of monks, often former pagan priests, in this process.[11] The more basic and powerful feature of the monastic topography was, however, the opposition between the "desert" on the one side and the "world" or the "cities" on the other. Although modern scholars—most prominently, James Goehring—have demonstrated that this division was a literary or cultural creation, regularly violated in actual monastic life,[12] its firm hold on the monastic imagination shaped how the eremitical and semi-eremitical monks of the *Apophthegmata* in particular understood their disciplines and their relationships to each other and to non-monastic people. In their view, some people, such as women, belonged squarely to the world (even if they were present in the desert), but others were more difficult to locate, most prominently the Christian bishop and especially the bishop who was or had been a monk. In some sense, the bishop represented a pull back to the world, one that was ambiguously dangerous.

Monks were interested primarily not in mapping the landscape in which they lived, however, but in using that landscape to chart their own progress in the monastic life. The required movement from world to desert was not so much external or spatial as it was interior and existential, a movement not so much of one's body as of one's self. It was the monks' own change in social and spiritual orientation that shaped their understanding of space. Thus, the Pachomian monks did not really move out of the villages into the desert; rather, they transformed villages or portions of villages into spaces distinct from "the

[10] Smith 1995; Frankfurter 1998, 198–237.
[11] Frankfurter 1998, 257–264.
[12] Goehring 1999; Goehring 2003.

world" through both architecture and lifestyle even as they remained active in the villages.[13] Working the metaphor in reverse, the Alexandrian Bishop Athanasius understood monks as transforming the desert, territory of the uncivilized and the demonic, into a heavenly city, a space of righteousness and piety.[14] For the monks of Lower Egypt, the pagan temple also served as a spatial barometer of their own spiritual progress and underwent a qualitative transformation through their ascetic discipline. As monks themselves traveled from the pagan temple to the monastic cell, a few temples became cells and some monastic cells were understood to be temples. The key idea that enabled all of this was, of course, the identification of the pagan gods as demons, the spiritual adversaries of the monk pursuing virtue.

Although the pagan gods were everywhere, temples contained their images and thus were a privileged site of interaction between human beings and the gods. Translated into monastic terms, temples functioned as headquarters for the demons in their campaigns against the monks. As an army, the demons had a hierarchical organization, and in temples monks could overhear the demons as they reported to their superiors, hatched their plots, and assessed the results of their attacks. Such intelligence could be useful to the monk, especially one just starting out on the road to virtue. For example, one *apophthegma* reports that a demon attempted to create a rift between two monks who were also natural brothers by overturning a lamp that the younger brother had lit. When the older brother struck his sibling in anger, the younger apologized, saying, "Be patient, my brother, and I will light it again." Foiled in its attempt to sow discord between the monks, the demon was then tormented all night by "the Lord's power." The demon reported these events to its "commander" (ἄρχων), who appears to have been located in a temple, for the resident pagan priest overheard the conversation between the two demons and was so impressed by the humility of the younger brother that he became a monk. The theme of the anecdote is "power" (δύναμις): the Lord's power torments the demon, and both the priest-turned-monk and the demon state that monastic humility

[13] For "the brothers" as distinct from outsiders, who are "worldly persons," see *v. Pach.* 45. Continued involvement: Goehring 1999, 39–52, 89–109.

[14] Athan. *v. Ant.* 14.7 (SC 400).

overcomes the power of the god-turned-demon.[15] The temple's place in the cultic topography enabled the conversion of the priest to a monk, a career path that other religious experts of the time followed and that permitted them to continue to exercise supernatural power.[16] Characteristically, the anecdote integrates the monastic language of virtue into the local religious language of divine power—monastic discipline is now the means of acquiring such power—and so makes the temple the beginning of the path to the cell.

A similar story has an advanced monk (γέρων) recall that, as the young son of a priest, he once followed his father into the temple as he was making a sacrifice and saw standing beside his father "Satan and his entire army (στρατιά)." The boy observed four demons arrive to report on their activities, the first of which held the rank of "commander" (ἄρχων).[17] Satan was unimpressed with the work of the first three demons—one, for example, caused a riot at a wedding ceremony, resulting in the deaths of the bride and groom, but it took ten days to accomplish this—and he ordered that they be flogged. But when the fourth demon said, "I was in the desert forty years, waging war against a single monk, and tonight I have cast him down into fornication," Satan praised "this very great deed" and gave the demon a crown and a seat on his throne. The now old monk concludes, "When I saw this, I said, 'Truly the brigade of the monks (τὸ τάγμα τῶν μοναχῶν) is great,' and with God granting my salvation, I left and became a monk."[18] Once again, the temple, as the headquarters of the demonic army, is the site where the gods themselves attest to monastic superiority and thus where a man can begin his transformation into a monk. Because the basic monastic relationship was the master and disciple, metaphorically father and son, stories like this one portray the pagan priest as a rival

[15] *Apophth. Patr.* N77 (ed. Nau 1907, 397–398). Other sayings present humility as the source of the monk's ability to perform exorcisms: N298, N307, Bessarion 5, Daniel 3, Longinus 4, Poemen 7.

[16] Priests turned monks: *Apophth. Patr.* N191, Macarius the Great 39. Power: Frankfurter 2001.

[17] As a Christian term for evil spiritual powers, ἄρχων has a long history. In the New Testament Gospels, it appears to have been reserved for Satan or Beelzebub himself (Matt 9:34; 12:24; Mark 3:22; Luke 11:15), but Gnostic and other early Christian writings followed its use in Eph 6:12 in the plural for a number of demonic forces. On monastic demonology in Egypt, see Brakke 2006.

[18] *Apophth. Patr.* N191 (ed. Nau 1908, 275–276).

father or father figure for a younger man or younger men deciding whether to enter or remain in the monastic life.[19]

Yet another story of human eavesdropping on demonic conversation plays more explicitly with topographical metaphors and in this case situates the temple along the road to virtue rather than at its beginning.[20] The main character is an anchorite whose senior status is indicated not only by his title, "old man" (γέρων), but also by his geographical location, the "far desert."[21] Two visitors make their way to him by means of "the road of the desert" (ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἔρημος). The first is a representative of the world, a female relative of the old man, whose journey on the road to the desert is "moved by the devil," and whose extended stay with the old man results in his fall into fornication with her. The second visitor is another anchorite, whose more junior status is indicated by his geographical location in "the lower areas" (τὰ κάτω μέρη), somewhere between the world represented by the woman and the far desert of monastic success. When this anchorite knocks over his water jug just before dinner, he sets off along the road to the desert to consult the old man. His journey takes place "by God's providence." Alongside the road (κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν) lies "the temple of the demons," where the anchorite decides to spend the night and overhears the demons discussing their success at bringing the old man into sin. After the old man confesses his sin to his junior colleague, he states, "Look, I am leaving for the world." But the anchorite persuades the old man to remain where he is and instead to send the woman back because the monk's fall was "the enemy's doing." By intensifying his way of life with tears, the old man regains "his former condition (τάξις)."

This anecdote works through its exceptionally precise use of topography and characters to measure the self's progress, symbolized as a road or path. At one end lies the old man in the far desert, representing the state of achieved monastic virtue; at the other end lies the female relative in the world, representing the pre-monastic state of sin; in the middle lies the junior anchorite in the lower areas, representing the intermediate state of struggle for virtue. The arrival of the woman in the far desert destroys the old man's virtue and threatens to send him

[19] Cf. *Apophth. Patr.* Lot 2; N190; Paphn. *h. mon.* 31–52 (trans. Vivian 1993, 87–96).

[20] *Apophth. Patr.* N176 (ed. Nau 1908, 268–269).

[21] On the metaphorical correlation of distance from the settled land with degree of sanctity, see Goehring 1999, 79–80.

back to the world, the other end of the road. The situation is resolved when the woman is returned to the world, and the old man accepts a temporary return to the position of struggle represented by his junior colleague and so eventually regains his "place" (τόπος). The road itself is the site of competition between God and the enemy, and it is here that the temple is situated. It is not in the world, the site of pre-monastic sin or post-monastic failure; rather, it is along the road, the site of the monastic struggle for virtue. Significantly, it is the middle player, the junior monk, who stays here and overhears the demons. His continued involvement in struggle with the demons gives him the insight into their role in the old man's fall that enables the old man to return to the struggle and regain his virtue. The temple's character as demonic headquarters is what makes it useful to the monastic project.

The preceding three stories depict junior monks or potential monks overhearing demons discussing their efforts to oppose monks who are pursuing virtue or who have achieved it. These monks, who have not yet reached the status of "abba" or "old man," hear what they need to hear: the temple performs a therapeutic or pedagogic function for them. Things are quite different for a senior monk, such as Macarius the Great. When he spends the night in a temple, he thinks nothing of using an old coffin as a pillow. The "confidence" (θαρσαλέον) of this act makes the resident demons jealous, and so they try to scare Macarius by making the corpses appear to speak. "So and so, come with us to the bath," cries out one corpse, to which the one under Macarius replies, "I have a stranger on top of me and cannot come." Macarius responds with the calm assurance that Antony displays in his *Life*, telling the demons to leave. They flee in confusion, confessing, "You have conquered us."[22] The temple is useful to Macarius merely as a place to sleep, but this practical function enables him also to display his hard-won superiority to his demonic rivals. Rather than listening to the demons plotting in their home base, Macarius clears them from their headquarters thanks to his condition of supreme confidence.

So far we have seen monks moving from temple to cell. As monks formed themselves through their struggles with demons, temples proved useful as places to start their journey, to advance their struggle, and to display their achieved self-mastery. What about temples themselves becoming monastic cells? Although the adaptation and use of temple

[22] *Apophth. Patr.* Macarius the Great 13 (*PG* 65:268–269).

remains by monks as their primary residences is well attested archaeologically for the sixth and later centuries,[23] the literary evidence for such a practice in the fourth and early fifth centuries is meager, and to some extent this must be a function of our chosen literature's primary interest in more remote forms of desert asceticism, particularly the communities of Nitria and Scetis. For obvious reasons temples in Egypt tended to be located in populated areas along the Nile and in the Delta and thus did not lend themselves to use by monks in search of more withdrawn locations, and it was such monks who became the heroes of Egypt's monastic literature.[24] Comparison with literature regarding monasticism in Syria is instructive. In Theodoret of Cyrrhus's *History of the Monks of Syria*, written in 444 and thus earlier than the *Apophthegmata*, monks such as Maron and Thalelaius settle in abandoned temples, which they "consecrate to God," sometimes in the face of demonic attacks.[25] These accounts reflect both Syria's more variegated terrain, which lacked Egypt's stark contrast between the desert and the settled land, and Theodoret's efforts to play down extreme withdrawal (in favor of connection with the Church) while also holding up the monk as a "wondrous spectacle" who refutes paganism and shows forth the glory of the Christian God. Syria developed its own seemingly more confrontational tradition for the relationship between monk and temple, apparent already in the complaints of Libanius and eventually quite prominent in works such as the *Life of Rabbula of Edessa*.[26]

In Egypt, then, it is not surprising that our most explicit reference to monastic use of temples has to do with a large city. The *Historia monachorum* famously describes Oxyrhynchus as boasting 5,000 monks within the city walls and another 5,000 outside. The author reports that "the city's temples and *capitolia* were full of monks" and goes on to say that the city has twelve churches and that each monastery has its own "prayer space" (εὐκτήριον).[27] We can, I think, infer from this single report similar temples-turned-monasteries in other Egyptian cities and

[23] To investigate this evidence, Grossmann 2002 is a good place to start, with numerous references to other articles and monographs.

[24] Goehring 1999, 73–88.

[25] Thdt. *h. rel.* 16.1; 28.1–2.

[26] On the latter, see recently Bowersock 2000.

[27] *Hist. mon.* 5.1–4 (ed. Festugière 1961, 41–42). *Capitolia* would have been temples devoted to the Capitoline gods; most cities would have had only one such temple, and thus the use of the plural here is curious. Perhaps it refers to the individual shrines or precincts devoted to the three gods within the single temple.

villages. But the phrasing of this account suggests that the conversion of temples to monastic use in Oxyrhynchus may have been a variation on the more familiar pattern of conversion to use as churches (liturgical sites) in urban settings. That is, as elsewhere, these temples retained their identities as cultic spaces: their use as monastic dwellings may have followed from their use as monastic "prayer spaces."

Indeed, it is possible that, in addition to the locations of temples in populated areas, another deterrent to monastic use of temples as cells was their continuing identity, even after abandonment, as cultic centers and thus as dwelling places for demons. Such is suggested by the only *apophthegma* known to me that depicts a solitary monk using a temple as his permanent dwelling. Abba Elias reports that "an old man (γέρων) was living in a temple." Asserting that the temple is "our place," the demons tried to force the monk to leave by scattering his palm leaves and literally dragging him to the door. When the monk cried, "Jesus, save me," the demons fled. The point of the story is that this senior monk had grown complacent, as God explains, "You had become careless. For when you sought me, you see how I was found by you."[28] The implication is that only a senior monk could use a temple as a cell and then only if he maintained his condition with vigilance. This conclusion coheres with our earlier stories that depicted non-monks or junior monks overhearing demonic plots in temples but the senior monk Macarius driving demons out of a temple.

Despite these drawbacks, circumstances may have forced some monks to move into temples, however reluctantly. It is reported that after the first barbarian attack on Scetis in 407 Poemen and his six brothers moved to Terenuthis and took up residence in "an old temple" for at least "a few days." There is some reason to believe that the circle remained in Terenuthis permanently, but it is impossible to be certain on this point.[29] In any event, the little band faced a challenging situation: in Scetis they had been semi-eremitical monks, each living in his own cell and gathering with his colleagues only occasionally; now they might have to live together all the time. One of the brothers, Anoub, suggested that they spend a week living as they did at Scetis, each on his own terms and not speaking to one another. During that week, Anoub awoke each morning and threw stones at the face of one of

[28] *Apophth. Patr.* Elias 7 (*PG* 65:184–185).
[29] Guy 1993, 77–79.

the images, and in the evening he would kneel before the statue and pray, "Forgive me." At the end of the week, when the brothers gathered, Poemen asked Anoub whether his actions were really those of a "believing person." Anoub replied that he was using the image as an object lesson: "If you want us to stay with one another, let us be like this statue, which is not moved whether it is insulted or it is glorified." The brothers agreed to live together and work "according to the word of the old man (γέρων), which he has said to us."[30] Anoub's parabolic action depends both on the Christian understanding that the pagan images are lifeless and on the temple's identity as a cultic center as he not only insults the image but also flatters it by mimicking pagan worship. It is Anoub's insightful saying that earns him the title "old man," but surely his conspicuous indifference to the temple's images plays a role as well.

These stories suggest that temples retained their identities as privileged locations for human interaction with the pagan gods, now understood to be demons. When we place this evidence next to the stories of monks beginning their ascetic careers in temples or staying temporarily in temples, we find that the temples' reputation as the dwelling places of demons did not render them absolutely negative in monastic culture. On the one hand, temples were potentially useful as sites for beginning, advancing, and completing the monastic journey of combat with the demons. On the other hand, they remained dangerously charged spaces, problematic candidates for use as permanent monastic dwellings. All of this coheres with what the chapters in this volume suggest was the standard career of a pagan temple at this time—not dramatic destruction or immediate conversion, but a fall into neglect or abandonment, sometimes followed (perhaps much later) by conversion to new use, including but not limited to Christian worship.

Still, some operating temples were indeed the objects of violent attacks or forced conversion into Christian churches. The basic monastic distinction between desert and world, as well as mixed feelings about a bishop, shaped how the monks of Lower Egypt remembered their involvement in one such incident, the plundering of the Serapeum in Alexandria. If not for the *apophthegmata* to be discussed shortly, we would not know that monks were involved in this event at all, for none

[30] *Apophth. Patr.* Anoub 1 (*PG* 65:129).

of the other ancient sources mentions monks.[31] It appears that Bishop Theophilus may have recruited monks to participate in the later stages of the conflict, after the dramatic destruction of the Serapis statue by soldiers, so that they might assist in the conversion of the space into a church and in the raids on other pagan sites that took place in the wake of the Serapeum's occupation.[32] It is impossible to ascertain the motivations of the monks who participated in these violent events, but I am certain that we can rule out "unquestioning" allegiance to Theophilus.[33] In this early period there is no evidence for monks obeying any bishop in an "unquestioning" way, much less Theophilus.[34] It is possible that Theophilus's campaign against pagan images resonated with the resistance to images in prayer and one's mental life evident in some monastic circles.[35] Although the monks that we know to have held such views (e.g., Evagrius Ponticus) appear to have been poor candidates for anti-pagan violence, there may be some support for this hypothesis, as we shall see below. Whatever motivated the monks, certainly Theophilus understood the benefit that he would derive from having the supportive involvement of the increasingly prestigious desert fathers.[36]

We can say that the monks who compiled the *Apophthegmata* looked back at the Serapeum attack with ambivalence, as an instance in which monastic values were compromised. Moreover, they considered that event in the light of Theophilus's subsequent actions in the Origenist

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[31] The key ancient source is Rufin. *hist.* 11.22–30. For modern accounts see Evelyn-White 1932, 89–90; Schwartz 1966; Clark 1992, 52–56; Haas 1997, 161–163; Hahn (in this volume). *Apophth. Patr.* Theophilus 3 is "our only authority for assigning a share in the destruction of the temples to the monks of the desert" (Evelyn-White 1932, 90). A later manuscript illustration of this event depicts figures that scholars have identified as monks, but this identification is not certain: see Bauer – Strzygowski 1906, 82–84 and pl. 6 recto.

[32] Haas 1997, 163.

[33] So Fowden 1978, 71, citing *Apophth. Patr.* Theophilus 3, which, we shall see below, hardly supports such a claim.

[34] E.g., even Pachomius, who urged his followers to be obedient to "our fathers the bishops," was not always so: see Brakke 1998, 113–120; Rousseau 1985, 169–172.

[35] Clark 1992, 56 seems to suggest this.

[36] The suggestion of Evelyn-White (1932, 90) that this incident "in all probability taught the monks for the first time their power, and the influence they could bring to bear upon the authorities, ecclesiastical or secular, at Alexandria" may be true as long as it is understood that in fact it was Theophilus who instigated the Serapeum attack and recruited the monks into service (rather than the monks influencing him to make the attack). Perhaps the monks learned from Theophilus's recruitment of them that their prestige could be of value to the bishop and thus that they had some leverage with him.

controversy, which devastated the monastic communities of Nitria. The following is the only saying that refers to the attack explicitly:

> Once some fathers went into Alexandria, summoned by Theophilus the archbishop, in order to pray and to destroy the temples. As they were eating with him, veal was served, and they ate it without hesitating (μηδὲν διακρινόμενοι). The bishop, taking a slice, offered it to the old man beside him, saying, "Here is a good slice, abba, eat it." But he replied, "Until now we were eating vegetables, but if it is meat, we do not eat it." No longer was any more (veal) added, and none of them tasted it.[37]

Although the story does not criticize the monks for going to Alexandria to "destroy" temples (already an exaggeration), neither does it praise them; rather, it highlights the problems that follow from such activity. Theophilus's *faux pas* arises from his ignorance of the monastic value of accepting hospitality: it was appropriate, even required, to violate one's discipline with respect to food in order not to show up or embarrass one's host; after all, Jesus had commanded that his followers eat whatever was set before them (Luke 10:8).[38] In his characteristically unsubtle way, Theophilus broke the spell of strategically feigned ignorance and laid uncomfortably bare the dissonance between the ways of the urban bishop and those of the desert monks.[39] Such were the difficulties that monks who went into cities to destroy temples had to navigate.

More pointedly negative is an anecdote, preserved in the Greek alphabetical collection of the *Apophthegmata*, whose reference to Theophilus and the Serapeum event is covert:

> On another day, when I (Doulas) came to his cell I found him (Bessarion) standing at prayer with his hands raised toward heaven. For fourteen days he remained doing this. Then he called me and said to me, "Follow me." We went into the desert. Being thirsty, I said to him, "Abba, I am thirsty." Then, taking my sheepskin, the old man went about a stone's throw away and when he had prayed, he brought it back to me, full of water. Then we walked on and came to a cave where, on entering we found a brother seated, engaged in plaiting a rope. He did not raise his eyes to us, nor greet us, since he did not want to enter into conversation with us. So the old man said to me, "Let us go; perhaps the old man is

[37] *Apophth. Patr.* Theophilus 3 (*PG* 65:199).
[38] E.g., *Apophth. Patr.* Eulogius the Priest 1, N256, N257.
[39] The translation by Ward (1984, 81) has the monks genuinely not realizing that they were eating meat rather than vegetables. This interpretation makes the story comic, its humor deriving from the innocence of the rustic monks (a stereotype that recent scholarship has undermined), and dulls its anti-Theophilus edge.

> not convinced that he ought to speak with us." We continued our journey toward Lycopolis, till we reached Abba John's cell. After greeting him, we prayed, then he (John) sat down to speak of the vision that he had seen. Abba Bessarion said that a decree (ἀπόφασις) had gone forth that the temples should be destroyed. That is what happened: they were destroyed. On our return, we came again to the cave where we had seen the brother. The old man said to me, "Let us go in and see him; perhaps God has convinced him to speak to us." When we had entered, we found him dead. The old man said to me, "Come, brother, let us take the body; it is for this reason God has sent us here." When we took the body to bury it we discovered that it was a woman by nature. The old man marveled and said, "See how women triumph over Satan, and we behave shamefully in the cities." Having given thanks to God, who protects those who love him, we withdrew from there.[40]

A complicated series of allusions to Evagrian practices of pure prayer (with which John of Lycopolis was associated) and the Origenist controversy make it clear that it is the monks' participation in the attack on the Serapeum and other temples led by Theophilus that Bessarion condemns as shameful behavior in the cities.[41] Bessarion uses the extreme withdrawal exemplified by the female brother's silence in order to portray the temple-attacking monks as acting shamefully. Although there are several reasons that a cross-dressing woman is useful to this story, surely one is the shaming function that women could play in rhetoric aimed at men: that a woman can practice asceticism so perfectly renders the behavior of the men even more worthy of condemnation.[42] The saying thus criticizes monastic participation in the Serapeum's plundering as a violation of the monk's commitment to withdrawal in the desert: monks did not belong in the cities, even if they were opposing paganism. The saying implicitly disparages the instigator of that action, Theophilus, who about eight years after the Serapeum incident persecuted the "Origenist" monks with whom John of Lycopolis was associated.

But matters are not so simple: this story has a somewhat complicated textual history, which may reveal conflicting attitudes toward Theophilus and the Serapeum incident among the tradents and compilers of the *Apophthegmata*. In the Latin version of the systematic collection of the

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[40] *Apophth. Patr.* Bessarion 4 (*PG* 65:140–141; trans. Ward 1984, 41, with alterations).
[41] Brakke 2003.
[42] On the multiple functions of this cross-dressing monk, see Brakke 2003. On women as a device for shaming men, see Clark 1998, 29–30.

Apophthegmata, the account of the two visits to the silent female brother in the cave appears separately from a story that features Bessarion's miraculous prayer, John of Lycopolis's vision, and the reference to the destruction of the temples.[43] There is evidence for this separation in the Greek tradition as well.[44] According to the Latin account of Bessarion's prayer and John's vision, Bessarion responds to John's vision by saying that "a decree *from the Lord* had gone forth that the temples should be destroyed," and the anecdote ends with the fulfillment of this statement.[45] The implication is that John's vision is a revelation from God justifying the destruction of temples. The introduction of this scene with Bessarion's miraculous prayer, presumably imageless and pure, suggests approval of monastic anti-temple violence on the basis of a monastic ideology against images. Here may be indirect evidence for the motivation of some monks to respond positively to Theophilus's summons to participate in his anti-pagan campaign. The longer Greek version is, as we have seen, more negative. It uses the female brother to shame the male monks and yokes her silence to Bessarion's prayer, which here supports complete withdrawal in the desert and opposes monastic activity in the cities. Bessarion refers only to a decree, not one "from the Lord," perhaps suggesting that the decree came from a human authority, either Theophilus or the imperial government.[46] Since this version condemns monastic involvement in temple destruction, it makes sense for it not to give the decree divine status.

Which is the earlier version? It is possible that the combination of the two stories in the Greek alphabetical collection is secondary. In this case, the independent account of John's vision (attested in both Greek and Latin) would indicate an early positive attitude toward the monastic anti-pagan activity in Alexandria, and its subsequent combination with the transvestite monk anecdote would have resulted from a later disillusionment with Theophilus and the monks' relationship with him in the wake of the Origenist controversy. On the other hand, the independent account of the discovery of the cross-dressing monk has a rather abrupt reference to John between the two visits to her cave:

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[43] *Verba seniorum* (5) 12.3 (*PL* 73:941); (6) 3.1 (*PL* 73:1004).

[44] See *PG* 65:139–140 n. 79.

[45] *Verba seniorum* (5) 12.3 (*PL* 73:941), emphasis added; the Greek parallel has "the temples of the idols" (*PG* 65:139–140 n. 79).

[46] On provincials' imprecise knowledge of imperial legislation against paganism, see Emmel's essay in this volume.

"So we left there and traveled to see Abba John. Returning, we in fact came again to that cave where we had seen the brother." Its opening reference to Doulas and Bessarion traveling "in the desert" fits with the other story's reference to the two monks going into "the desert."[47] These features may be signs that the story of the female brother and the shame of monks in the cities was indeed originally connected to the John anecdote and its reference to the temples. As is often the case with the *Apophthegmata*, it may be impossible to discern the earliest form of this story or stories, and thus the most we can say is that these different versions reveal conflicting attitudes among the monks toward Theophilus and monastic involvement in his attacks on temples.

Even monks who did engage in anti-pagan activity may not have considered such work to have been part of their basic job description as monks. Consider, for example, the famous instance of Apollo of Hermopolis, who is credited in the *Historia monachorum* with a brief anti-pagan discourse and with disrupting a ritual procession to ensure the flooding of the Nile and thereby causing all the local pagans to convert to Christianity.[48] Apollo's charge to "banish all worship of demons" comes as a special commission from God—and only when he is 55 years old and has already spent forty years practicing asceticism in the desert. Apollo immediately recognizes this extraordinary call as a possible occasion for pride: he must resist that temptation by casting aside a small Ethiopian demon attached to his neck before he can "set off for the inhabited world (ὁκουμένη)." Even then, however, Apollo positions himself not fully in that world, but "in the nearby desert."[49] To the monastic mind, any involvement in "the inhabited world" is dangerous, even for the good of opposing paganism and bringing conversions to Christianity, and indeed Apollo disrupts the Nile procession merely by stopping to pray when he happens to cross paths with it. The pagan priests are the ones who deduce that "the Christian" who lives "in the desert" is to blame for their inability to move, and Apollo must be summoned from his desert retreat to free them from their immobility.[50] For the remainder of his career, Apollo tries to maintain his solitary life in the desert despite the needs of villagers for his intervention into disputes, famines, and the like.

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[47] *Verba seniorum* (6) 3.1 (*PL* 73:1004).

[48] *Hist. mon.* 8.21–29 (ed. Festugière 1961, 54–58).

[49] *Hist. mon.* 8.3–4 (ed. Festugière 1961, 47–48). On Ethiopians in this work, see Brakke 2001a, 528–529.

[50] *Hist. mon.* 8.28–29 (ed. Festugière 1961, 57–58).

The demon of pride was only one of a host of anxieties that attended the crossing of the boundary between desert and world, anxieties that often came to expression in stories about two sets of people, women and bishops, representatives of the world.[51] Ordination as a bishop was particularly fraught with danger (especially pride), and in the view of many monks was best avoided altogether.[52] Famously, Ammonius cut off his ear and threatened to do the same to his tongue if Bishop Timothy of Alexandria and local Christians persisted in their efforts to make him a bishop.[53] If bishops wanted to attract monastic candidates for ordination and to harness monastic charisma for ecclesiastical purposes, it was to their advantage to minimize the world/desert distinction, as Athanasius famously tried to do in a letter to the monk Dracontius.[54] Correspondingly, our sources often depict bishops as drawing monks into their conflicts with pagans: it was Bishop Theophilus who recruited monks to attack the Serapeum in the wake of his carefully staged provocations. Monks, in turn, sometimes responded positively to these episcopal pulls toward involvement in the world, since their values included some sense of responsibility to the wider Church and a desire to promote Christ and oppose the devil and his demons.

Moreover, in the fifth century, active opposition to the demonic pagan gods became increasingly part of the monk's identity. Athanasius of Alexandria initiated this picture of the monk in his *Life of Antony*, which presented the monk, as the successor to the martyr, as the Christian on the front line of the battle between Christianity and paganism,[55] and thus its demonology, although still therapeutic in character, draws more on the apologetic tradition and creates a starker opposition between monk and demon. For example, when Antony secludes himself within a fortified well for twenty years, Athanasius twice refers to Antony's enclosure as an ἄδυτον, a temple's innermost sanctuary, that which is not to be entered. Yet Antony does enter and engages in fierce physical combat with the gods-cum-demons, who demand that he "abandon what is ours"; Antony emerges triumphant, "as if from some shrine, initiated into the mysteries and bearing God," his body as healthy as

[51] On stories of women as keeping "'world' and 'desert' at a safe distance from one another," see Brown 1988, 244.

[52] Brakke 1998, 103–104, citing *Apophth. Patr.* Apphy, Theodore of Pherme 25, Netras, Orsisios 1, Sisoes 15.

[53] Pall. *h. Laus.* 11.1–3.

[54] Athan. *ep. Drac.*; Brakke 1998, 104–110.

[55] E.g., Athan. *v. Ant.* 47.1 (SC 400:262); Malone 1950; Brakke 2006, 23–47.

ever.[56] The book concludes with the hope that "pagans" may read it and be convinced that "the demons, which the Greeks reckon to be gods,... are not gods."[57] Athanasius has Antony refute visiting pagan philosophers with arguments drawn from the two-volume apology *Against the Nations/On the Incarnation of the Word* that Athanasius had written in his youth.[58] Here indeed is a monk for whom opposing paganism, as well as Arianism, Manichaeanism, and other -isms, ranks high on his agenda. Significantly, this is a monk created by a bishop. Yet by conforming Antony to the martyr, especially in the scenes in which the demons physically attack him, Athanasius makes his ideal monk rather passive in his anti-demonic aggression. Like the biblical Job, Antony triumphs by remaining faithful despite demonic attacks: he aggressively moves into the desert and then patiently endures the attacks that follow.

Other monks would not be so passive, and it seems likely that the attack on the Serapeum in 391, despite the ambivalence of some monks, set a precedent that other monks followed. At this point our evidence for the monks of Lower Egypt (primarily the *Apophthegmata*) fades, and so we must look to monks elsewhere and after the start of the fifth century. Shenoute of Atripe is the outstanding example of the monk who extended his struggle against the demons to anti-pagan attacks, namely the burning of at least one temple and raids on the home of Gesios, a prominent person whom he suspected of concealed pagan activity.[59] In a fragmentary sermon, Shenoute rejoices in the conversion of a temple into a Christian church: "Instead of a place for an unclean spirit, it will be a place for the Holy Spirit from now on, and instead of sacrificing to Satan and worshiping and fearing him, from now on Christ will be served in it, and he will be worshiped and bowed down to and feared."[60] It is unknown whether this temple had been abandoned or forcibly converted. In the late fifth and following centuries, the disruption or destruction of a temple became a regular part of the resume of a prominent monk as found in monastic hagiography.[61] The White Monastery became a kind of literary headquarters for the production of literary portraits of monks made in Shenoute's

[56] Athan. *v. Ant.* 12.4–14.2 (SC 400:168–172).
[57] Athan. *v. Ant.* 94.2 (SC 400:376).
[58] Athan. *v. Ant.* 74–80 (SC 400); see the parallels compiled by Bartelink in SC 400:36–37.
[59] See the essay by Emmel in this volume and the references there.
[60] Shenoute *Acephalous work* A6, TY 3–4 (Young 1981, 349–350).
[61] See the works examined by Frankfurter in his essay in this volume.

image; details from his now legendary raid on Gesios's house and other activities were applied to these heroes.[62] In the *Life of Moses of Abydos*, Shenoute himself is made to prophesy that the soon-to-be-born Moses would "abolish the pagans' sacrifices and overthrow their temples"; when Moses enters a temple to drive out the demonic god Bes, he takes with him seven brothers, the number that Shenoute said he took with him to find Gesios's idols.[63] In the *Panegyric on Macarius of Tkôw*, Shenoute's successor Besa rescues Bishop Macarius, who is about to be sacrificed by pagans in their temple: just as Shenoute famously went through Gesios's locked doors with no key, so too the temple's locked doors miraculously open for Besa, who later calls down fire on the temple, burning it just as Shenoute had burned a temple in Atripe.[64] It seems probable that these later monks did not in fact live up to Shenoute's violently anti-pagan example and so required some literary improvement. More in the realm of reality, years of patient work by Alexandrian bishops such as Theophilus and Cyril did create a bond between northern Egyptian monks and the Alexandrian patriarch that Peter Mongus could draw on in 485 when he used anti-pagan violence as a means of creating unity in a badly divided Church. He managed briefly to bring together pro- and anti-Chalcedonian monks by inviting them to "assist" a group of clergy and students in attacking the Isis temple at Menouthis.[65]

But such events and their idealized accounts should not seduce us into seeing the resulting revision of Egypt's religious topography as a simple movement from temple to church and thus from pagan priest to Christian bishop, for the monastic movement created its own centers of holiness, destinations for pilgrims and persons in need, which rivalled those over which bishops presided. Some monks understood their own cells to be cultic spaces: the solitary monk Paul of Tamma explicitly portrayed the monk in his cell as equivalent to a priest in a temple, although his point of reference was not any pagan temple, but the biblical temple in Jerusalem. He developed his metaphor of the cell as temple in the contexts both of learned exegetical discussion of

[62] On the White Monastery's role in hagiographic production, see Orlandi 2002, 220. For the details of Shenoute's raids on Gesios's house, see Emmel 2002 and his essay in this volume.

[63] Amélineau 1888–1895, 682, 689–690.

[64] Johnson 1980, 1:29–40; 2:21–30; see also Franfurter's chapter in this volume.

[65] Haas 1997, 327–329. Invitation to "assist": Zach. Mit. *v. Sev.* (p. 27, Kugener).

Christ's eternal priesthood and of episcopal and monastic dialogue over whether monks should be ordained.[66] But Paul, sometimes drawing on the Epistle to the Hebrews, reserves his explicitly cultic language for the cell. "A sage in his cell" is, Paul writes, "God's incense" and "God's altar."[67] The cell is "the true and good tabernacle (σκηνή) (cf. Heb 9:11), in which the person of God sits."[68] When the monk sits in his cell, the cell holds the contents of the ancient tabernacle as the author of Hebrews envisioned them: the golden urn, the manna, Aaron's rod, and the tablets of the covenant (Heb 9:4).[69] In addition to vigilance and stability, poverty and humility are the primary virtues that render the monk priestly and thus, in a learned exegesis of Jer 23:6, the one "whose name shall be called Josedek among the prophets."[70] Doubtless, as MacCoull has argued, implicit in Paul's symbolism is a rejection of monastic ordination, a practice with wide-ranging implications for monastic discipline and ecclesiastical politics (as we saw above).[71] For any consideration of the revision of cultic topography in late antiquity, Paul of Tamma's works demonstrate that the movement of cultic space was not simply from temples and their priests to churches and their bishops and presbyters, but also to cells and their monks. In Paul's view, it was the monk who was now God's altar; his cell, a temple. There was little room for the clergy and their churches in his piety.

Caught between the conflicting values of withdrawal from and engagement with the world in their own spirituality, Egyptian monks did at times go to the cities to oppose paganism by attacking temples. In their efforts to promote Christian unity and power through violence, bishops eagerly recruited the prestigious monks to their anti-pagan campaigns, and monks made suitable heroes for later Christian narratives of a dramatic and spectacular, rather than gradual and incomplete, tri-

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[66] MacCoull 1999, to which this entire paragraph is indebted. In the wake of Orlandi 1988, discussions of Paul have multiplied: see esp. Coquin 1991; Sheridan 2002; Vivian 1998; and Brakke 2001b. It should be noted here that the acephalous work ("opus sine titulo") in the corpus published by Orlandi (1988, 14, 65–68, 116–121) that contains an injunction urging the monk to "make" his body "God's temple" (Orlandi 1998, 118 § 112; cf. 1 Cor 6:19) must be attributed to Stephen the Theban rather than to Paul of Tamma: see Lucchesi 1997 (and on the problem of identifying Stephen the Theban, see now Lucchesi 2007).

[67] Paul of Tamma, *On the Cell* 52–53 (ed. Orlandi 1988, 94).

[68] Paul of Tamma, *On the Cell* 67 (ed. Orlandi 1988, 96, 104).

[69] Paul of Tamma, *On the Cell* 68 (ed. Orlandi 1988, 96, 104).

[70] Paul of Tamma, *On the Cell* 14 (ed. Orlandi 1988, 90). MacCoull 1999 clarifies this exegetical reference.

[71] See Brakke 1998, 83–85, 99–110, and Martin 1996, 124–128, 653–662.

umph of Christianity over traditional religion. But that is not the entire story of monastic involvement in the reshaping of the Mediterranean's religious topography in late antiquity. While for bishops, most ordinary Christians, and some monks, the pagan gods were demons that had to be defeated decisively, for other monks the pagan gods were demons whose resistance to virtue had to be creatively exploited through prolonged engagement. Thus, temples had a useful role to play in the monastic project: as the habitations of demons, they could be the sites for the staging of monastic struggle and achievement. The spatial goal of this conflict with the demons was not the church, but the cell. Thus, our understanding of the transformation of the cultic landscape of late antiquity is too simple if we draw a line solely from temple to church. The monastic movements created centers of religious devotion apart from and at times in conflict with the episcopally led churches, and thus monks charted an alternative path from temple to cell.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF PAGAN TEMPLES IN THE GREEK HAGIOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

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The *Lives* of saints are marked by an anti-pagan and anti-urban message, a message against the basic elements of antique culture. Hagiographical sources provide some of the most detailed accounts of the destruction of pagan temples, religious thoughts and theological ideas regarding the transformation of temples into churches, contemporary beliefs in the power of the pagan gods, and the struggle to neutralize them. Of the Greek *Lives* of saints that survive from the fourth to the early seventh century, only a few refer to the destruction of temples or to their transformation into Christian churches. Some were written a long time after the saints' death, and obviously their reliability is uncertain. Other texts were written by contemporaries of the saints, usually their disciples. These accounts are more reliable for historians. They reproduce, with greater accuracy, not only episodes of the saints' lives but also contemporary attitudes toward paganism. Some have been transmitted in more than one version, others have also survived in versions in other languages with various differences. Some later elaborations of saints' *Lives* add accounts about pagan temples that are not found in earlier versions. Thus the later Coptic *Lives* of St. Pachomius present him as residing in a small temple of Sarapis before and after he was baptized.[1]

Historians have often stressed the difficulties in ascertaining facts from hagiographical texts. Some *Lives* of saints are marked by confusion, anachronisms, chronological errors, and contradictions with other sources. The element of fiction is also a characteristic of the genre. Thus, it is generally assumed that it is safer to use these sources for extracting information about everyday life, culture and ideology.[2]

[1] Chitty 1966, 8.
[2] Ševčenko 1995.

In approaching the hagiographical texts, their aim should also be taken into consideration: they were written in order to be read aloud primarily by the monastic communities, often on the occasion of the saints' festivals. Therefore, the element of exaggeration in praising the exploits of the saints is an inherent characteristic. A second important observation for the purpose of this study is that the hagiographical texts that were most polemical toward the pagan temples were those referring to bishop-saints. The role of the bishops in the destruction of pagan temples has often been stressed.[3] As leaders of the Christian communities and of fanatical monks, they took the initiative to suppress paganism and convert the pagans through their miraculous acts, but also through coercion.[4] Bishops, the preachers par excellence of the new religion, could include such accounts in their preaching to convert more people to Christianity.

Since our approach to the conversion of pagan temples into churches will be made through a specific literary genre, Greek hagiography, it is expected to identify similarity of motifs and recurring themes, *topoi*. In some of the texts, the accounts of the temples' destruction and their conversion into Christian churches were written with dramatic tones and a polemical tinge. In others, the conflict was less intense, and aggressiveness was minimal. Our study takes a diachronic perspective, in which it becomes apparent that the saints' polemical activity against pagan idols and temples grew in the early fifth century, but its intensity diminished as time went on.

In the fourth century, a few texts offer precedents in the themes regarding the pagan sites in hagiography, the *Life* of the emperor Constantine (324–337) written by Eusebios of Caesarea, the *Life* of the founder of monasticism, St. Anthony, and the *Life* of St. Parthenios. In the *Life* of Constantine, there is an account of the destruction of a pagan temple at the emperor's order. At the site of the Holy Sepulchre, a cave-temple dedicated to Aphrodite had been established. Constantine ordered that it be demolished; the stone and wooden materials were removed, the soil was excavated to a great depth and carried away. Thus the site was cleansed of all traces of paganism.[5] In the *Life* of St. Anthony, the guidelines for a life in Christ and for a hermit's salva-

[3] Fowden 1978.
[4] Cf., for example, MacMullen 1984, 86–101; Holum 1996.
[5] Eus. *v. Const.* 3.26–27. Cf. also Trombley 1993–1994, 1:112–114.

tion are set. The saint became a prototype for imitation. Explicit references to paganism and to pagan temples are lacking in the *Life*, but there are numerous references to the demons against which the saint was in a constant war. St. Anthony retreated to a funerary monument where he suffered terrifying attacks by the demons.[6] This becomes a central theme of Anthony's *Life*. In lengthy passages the various forms in which the demons appeared are defined, and their aggression against the hermits is described.[7] They could be defeated by the faith of the holy men and the sign of the cross. In the hagiographical sources that include accounts of the destruction of pagan temples or of saints settling in them, the pagan sanctuaries, even if they were abandoned, are presented as inhabited by pagan demons. These demons were believed to be the pagan gods. They tried to terrify the saints, usually with shouts and noises, but often more aggressively by physically attacking them. They could be neutralized with the sign of the cross, the symbol of victory and life.[8] For the Christians, the temples in which pagan demons dwelt, even if there was no cult statue inside, were considered a place of impiety.[9] Thus sites of sanctuaries had to be cleansed by erecting the sign of the Christian religion.[10]

In the fourth century, attacks against pagan temples and idols were not tolerated by the pagans, and often those committing such offenses were persecuted, especially if they were not supported by the authorities. The destruction of pagan idols and altars by the hermit Abramios in rural Egypt produced a violent reaction of the local pagan villagers, who beat up the holy man. When he constructed a church and attempted to convert the villagers, he was tortured. But Abramios persisted, thus causing his torture to continue for three years, until the time the local villagers, admiring his patience and affection towards them, were converted to the Christian faith.[11] In the fourth century we also find a theme that was going to become popular in Greek hagiography, that of saints moving into deserted pagan temples. St. Hilarion (died 371),

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[6] Athan. *v. Ant.* 8–9 (*PG* 26: 853C–857C).

[7] Mango 1992.

[8] Athan. *v. Ant.* 26 (*PG* 26: 884A); 35 (893B–C); 36 (896B); 39 (900B–901), etc.; Cyr. H. *catech.* (*PG* 33: 816A–B). On the apotropaic function of the cross, cf. Eus. *laud. Const.* 6; Trombley 1993–1994, 1: 98ff.; Walter 1997.

[9] Jo. Chrys. *Jud.* 8 (*PG* 48: 852).

[10] *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.25.

[11] *Acta SS. Abramii et Mariae* 6–12 (*ActaSS Martii* 2 [Venice 1935], 741–748; cf. Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vitae sanctorum*, in *PG* 115: 56A–60A).

looking for a quiet place to retreat in Cyprus, found a destroyed temple near a garden.[12] Inside the temple numerous demons were dwelling. He liked the remoteness and tranquility of the area, and he remained there for five years. In order to frighten him, the demons that inhabited the temple did not cease to shout at him day and night, but the saint enjoyed being ready for battle against them.[13]

From Cyprus, the *Life* of St. Epiphanios, bishop of Salamis (Constantia) from 367 (died 403), relates another story concerning the saint and a pagan sanctuary. During a famine in Salamis, the saint was unable to persuade a certain Faustinianus, a wealthy pagan man, to donate to the starving people the wheat he had stored. Epiphanios went to a cemetery at night, as he often used to do, and prayed to God to feed all the people struck by the famine. Following the divine advice, the saint went to the pagan sanctuary, called *Dios Asphaleia*, which was believed to cause the destruction of whomever came into contact with it. The contact of the saint with the pagan temple neutralized its evil power and converted its destructive nature into a beneficial one. When the saint reached the entrance of the temple, immediately its seals fell off, and the doors opened. When he entered into the temple, he found inside much gold with which he was able to buy Faustinianus' wheat and feed his flock.[14] It is obvious that the pagan temple was not being used and that it was locked up with its treasures inside by the pagans, who were perhaps waiting for better days to reopen it.

It is known that the anti-pagan legislation of the emperor Theodosios (379–395) produced an outburst of violence against the pagan cults and temples. In various provinces, especially in the East, the bishops took the initiative to mobilize the monks and their flock, and with the support of the authorities and the army they attacked pagan sanctuaries. Theodoret of Cyrrhus (died ca. 466) refers to Marcellus, bishop of Apamea in the province of Syria Secunda during the reign of Theodosios, as the first among the bishops who used the law as a weapon and destroyed temples.[15] Theodoret does not mention what law he was specifically referring to, but it has been suggested that Marcel-

[12] *Vita Ilarioni* 133.24–29 (ed. Papadopoulos – Kerameus 1898).

[13] The martyrium of St. Hilarion has recently been identified as the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Toumpallos at Kato Paphos in Cyprus: Guidice 1998, 59–60.

[14] *Vita Epiphanii* 53 (*PG* 41: 89C–92B).

[15] Thdt. *h. e.* 5.21.1; Soz. *h. e.* 7.15, 13ff. The account is also given by Trombley 1993–1994, 1:123–129.

lus' anti-pagan activities should have taken place in 391.[16] According to Marcellus' *Life*, the bishop-saint asked the Prefect of the East to go to the city to participate in the destruction of the pagan temples. The prefect arrived with two military units, but in vain he attempted to dismantle the building blocks of the large temple of Zeus. We are told that this was not an easy task because the blocks were very firmly fastened together with iron and lead. St. Marcellus advised the prefect to go to other cities to destroy the temples, while he tried to find a solution to the problem through his prayers. A non-specialized worker from the East offered the desired solution by digging out each one of the temple's columns, stuffing them with piles of olive-tree wood, and setting them on fire. The fire would turn the marble into lime, thus causing the collapse of the columns. The work, however, could not be completed, since a black demon showed up and impeded the fire from consuming the wood. When the bishop was informed about the event, he performed a religious ritual to neutralize the demon: he brought water in a vessel and placed it under the sanctuary, then he prayed to God kneeling, he blessed the water with a cross, and he asked a deacon to take the vessel with the water to the temple and sprinkle the site in faith. Indeed, we are told, the demon was forced to leave, the fire consumed the wood and consequently fifteen columns collapsed. The entire side of the temple that was connected with the columns also collapsed. The noise was heard all over the city and everyone rushed there to see the temple's destruction. Marcellus also destroyed other temples in the area. Marcellus' aggressive offenses against the pagan sites outraged the local pagans who attacked him and burnt him alive.[17]

In the early fifth century, the *Life* of St. Porphyry gives the most detailed account of the destruction of a pagan temple and the construction of a Christian church on the site. Porphyry, bishop of Gaza from 395 to 420, was fanatical, expressing the fervor of the Egyptian and Palestinian monasticism that he had practiced. The largest part of the saint's *Life* describes his efforts to eradicate paganism in Gaza. The transmission of the text has generated a great deal of discussion and uncertainties regarding the reliability of the surviving Greek version. It has been suggested that the text, written by his disciple Marc the Deacon, was revised and developed with interpolations of fictitious

[16] MacMullen 1984, 98.
[17] *Vita Marcelli* 6–7 (ed. Latyšev 1914, 123–124).

stories in the sixth or even in the seventh century from a fifth-century original. The Georgian version of Porphyry's *Life* probably depended on a lost Syriac original shorter than the Greek version.[18]

Porphyry's main target became the local god Marnas, identified with Zeus. The saint visited Constantinople to secure state assistance in his enterprise. There he managed to get the support of John Chrysostom and of the empress Eudoxia, wife of Arkadios (395–408), by predicting to her the birth of a male heir, the future emperor Theodosios II (408–450). The emperor was reluctant to offer his support for the enterprise, but the empress arranged for the destruction of the Marneion to take place on the day of her son's baptism. Our saint managed to receive military help from the palace under the commander *clarissimus* Kynegios, perhaps a relative of Cynegius Maternius.

Porphyry returned to Maïoumas, Gaza's port, on 1 May 402. He entered the city of Gaza in a procession followed by a crowd of Christians chanting and carrying the cross. At a crossroad, a statue of Aphrodite was destroyed: according to the story, the pagan demon of the statue could not tolerate the sight of the cross and came out of the statue, breaking it down to pieces. One of the pagans standing by was killed, and another one was hurt.[19] When the military unit arrived under Kynegios with the governor and *dux* of the province of First Palestine, troops of the province and civil officials, the pagan citizens of the city, who were among the wealthiest members of the community, left for their estates in the countryside or for other cities. The commander announced to the pagans of Gaza the imperial order to destroy the city's temples and burn them down. Force was employed against them to keep them quiet: they were beaten with sticks and clubs.[20] Then the Christians of Gaza started the destruction of the pagan temples, assisted by the soldiers and the civil magistrates. There were eight pagan temples in the city dedicated to the Sun, Aphrodite, Apollo, Kore, Hecuba, the so-called Heroeion, the Tychaion, and the Marneion. The latter was

[18] Cf. Grégoire – Kugener 1930, xxxiii ff.; Halkin 1931; Nau 1929–1930; Peeters 1941, 65–216; Heiberg 1912; Van Dam 1985; Rydén 1993, 134–137. A detailed account of the destruction of the Marneion, an analysis of the conversion of groups of the Gaza population, and arguments in favor of the historicity of the Greek *Life* are given in Trombley 1993–1994, 1:187–245, 246–282. Trombley argues that the Greek text was the original one and that it was transmitted to Georgia through a Syriac version.

[19] Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 57–62 (ed. Grégoire – Kugener 1930, 47–49).

[20] Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 63 (ed. Grégoire – Kugener 1930, 50).

believed to be the most splendid and renowned of all the temples on earth. There were also numerous statues in the private houses and in the villages.[21] The Christians first attempted to destroy the Marneion, but they encountered resistance from the pagans and were pushed back. The priests of the Marneion sealed the doors of the interior temple with large stones and gathered all the sacred vessels and the gods' statues in the *adyton*, and they managed to escape from another exit. When the Christians were pushed back, they turned against the city's other temples: they destroyed them, burnt them down and stripped them of all their treasures. The destruction of the temples lasted for ten days. In his attempt to impede their plunder, Porphyry pronounced an anathema against those who would remove precious objects from the temples to appropriate them. The clerics collected the precious objects and cut them so that no one might appropriate them. The hagiographer assures us that none of the city's inhabitants took temple properties, but the perpetrators were the soldiers and the foreigners.[22]

Then followed the destruction of the Marneion. Deliberations were held on how to proceed to the temple's destruction. Some proposed to demolish it from its foundations, others to burn it down, others to clean the place and sanctify it by turning it into a church. There was much thought about it, and it appeared that the decision was difficult. Porphyry ordered fasting and prayer with the expectation that God would reveal what was the right thing to do. In the evening, while he was celebrating the mass, a miracle took place. A local seven-year-old child revealed in Syriac how they should proceed with the temple's destruction: they should burn the interior to the ground, for many terrible things took place there, especially human sacrifices; they should mix liquid pitch, sulphur, a substance used in antiquity to purify,[23] and pig's fat to coat the bronze doors of the temple as flammable materials and burn the temple down. It is interesting to note the use of the verb χρίω to designate the coating of the bronze with the combustible substances. The verb has a profoundly symbolic significance deriving from religious ceremonial, for it was used to designate anointing for consecration. By burning the doors with the flammable substances, the whole interior part of the temple would be destroyed, while the

[21] Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 64 (ed. Grégoire – Kugener 1930, 50–51).
[22] Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 65 (ed. Grégoire – Kugener 1930, 51–52).
[23] For example, in Gen. 19: 24 (LXX) sulphur and fire were thrown on Sodom and Gomorrah by God.

exterior part should be left intact. Then they should clean the place and build a church on the site. It was inevitable that suspicion would be raised about the authenticity of the child's prophetic words. The bishop interrogated the child and his mother and threatened the child with flogging, asking if someone had dictated the words to the child, but it became clear that the child had spoken spontaneously, when he repeated the same prophetic message in Greek, a language that he did not know.[24] The next day the temple was destroyed according to the divine message pronounced by the child. During the destruction, soldiers and foreigners—not Gaza's good Christians—pillaged various treasures they could put their hands on, made of gold, silver, iron, or lead.[25]

The event must have made a terrifying impression on the pagans. The *Life* of Porphyry offers us glimpses of personal attitudes and people's behavior. One of the soldiers who participated in the destruction was actually a pagan, but he pretended to be a Christian. Angry at the temple's destruction and its plunder, and pretending he wished to impose order, he was flogging those who were removing precious objects from the temple. But he was punished through divine intervention when a falling piece of burning wood killed him. The Marneion burned for many days.[26] The pagans' persecution continued in their houses, and many idols found in the courtyards were thrown into the fire or into the filth, as well as pagan sacred books. The forceful destruction of pagan temples brought the desired results: many pagans were converted, some by fear, others by faith. There was a question whether those converted by fear should be accepted into the Church. The latter view, which was supported by Porphyry, prevailed. In spite of the strong rhetoric employed by our text, the number of those who were converted was very small: they were only 300 people.[27]

The next issue to be resolved was to decide about the site of the church's construction. While some people proposed to build it on the site of the Marneion, others argued that they had the obligation to delete the memory of the pagan temple. All were persuaded by the latter argument, but the decision was changed when letters arrived from the empress Eudoxia with a cruciform plan for the church. The

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[24] Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 66–68 (ed. Grégoire – Kugener 1930, 52–55).
[25] Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 69 (ed. Grégoire – Kugener 1930, 55–56).
[26] Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 70 (ed. Grégoire – Kugener 1930, 56–57).
[27] Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 71–74 (ed. Grégoire – Kugener 1930, 57–59). Cf. also Trombley 1993–1994, 1: 223–234; Holum 1996.

empress also promised to send precious columns and marble for the construction of the church.[28] The text offers us some interesting details about the conversion of the pagan temple into a Christian church and the eagerness to invest it with allegorical interpretation. After the ashes and all the filth had been removed from the temple's site, the remaining marble slabs from the temple's cella, where women were not allowed to enter, were used to pave the *plateia*, the avenue or forecourt of the church.[29] Thus in the future the sacred pagan stones would be permanently desecrated since men, women, dogs, pigs and other animals would step on them. This was the bishop's personal order, a highly provocative decision. Not surprisingly, we are told, this act of sacrilege saddened the pagans more than the temple's destruction itself. This is the reason why most of the pagans, especially women, did not step on these marble slabs until the author's time.[30]

The preparations for the construction of the Christian church are marked by theatrical acts: there was one day of fasting, and people gathered with tools in the local church of St. Irene. From there they marched chanting to the Marneion, the bishop carrying the Gospel and surrounded by clergy in an imitation of Christ with his disciples. A member of the clergy was preceding holding the ceremonial cross. Soldiers escorted the procession marching on both sides of the people, obviously to protect them from possible attacks by the pagans. Upon their arrival at the Marneion, an architect from Antioch marked the plan of the church with plaster according to the imperial orders. The bishop prayed on his kneels and gave permission to the people to start digging. All were digging shouting: "Christ won!" In a few days the foundations were dug. The construction stones were already prepared, extracted from a hill east of the city. First the bishop prayed, chanted on the site, took stones, and placed them in the foundations. The clerics and the people were rejoicing together and chanting with loud voice so that one could hear them three miles away from the city.[31] Later, the thirty-two columns from Karystos were received, as promised by the empress Eudoxia.[32]

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[28] Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 75 (ed. Grégoire – Kugener 1930, 59–60).

[29] The term *plateia*, designating a city's central avenue, is usually translated as the church's forecourt. Trombley 1993–1994, 1: 219 translates it as "the main street," while on p. 116 it is translated as "courtyard."

[30] Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 76 (ed. Grégoire – Kugener 1930, 60–61).

[31] Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 77–79 (ed. Grégoire – Kugener 1930, 61–63).

[32] Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 84 (ed. Grégoire – Kugener 1930, 66).

The *Life* of St. Porphyry is revealing and vivid in the circumstances of the pagan temple's destruction: the force employed, the atrocities and passion involved, the reactions and the feelings of the pagans, the Christian ritual for the destruction of the temple and the construction of the Christian church.

Another Greek hagiographical text describing the destruction of a temple in the first part of the fifth century is the *Life* of St. Alexander the Akoimetos (died 430). When the saint retreated to the desert in Syria, he was informed that a certain city—its name is not mentioned—was still pagan and its inhabitants were worshipping idols. The saint went there, entered the temple, and with divine power set it on fire. After the temple's destruction, Alexander did not leave, but decided to stay inside. The pagans, angry at the sacrilege, were ascending with great ferocity to kill him. But he calmed them down with the liberty of his speech and they finally left.[33] Later he tried hard to convert the *politeuomenos* and *pater* of the city, Rabbulus, through arguments in a conversation, but in vain. Then, in imitation of the prophet Elias, he prayed to God to send fire. Where the words and the arguments had failed, the aggression through a miracle succeeded. The hagiographer insists that from this miracle the Christians should be persuaded that the destruction of the pagan temple by fire was similarly caused by divine intervention. The last step in the pagans' conversion was the destruction of the idols from their private houses.[34]

Another type of activity of the holy men in the hagiographical sources is the destruction of sacred trees or similar cult symbols of the countryside. Hypatius of Rouphinianae (died 446) cut down sacred trees in the province of Bithynia with his monks and disciples and burnt them. We are told that this was a successful tool of conversion. Thus the rustics were later "in part" converted to Christianity. Artemis was worshipped in Bithynia's countryside, and the festival in her honor, the so-called Basket of Artemis, was still celebrated. The saint engaged himself in eradicating paganism. He also expelled the demon Artemis with the sign of the cross, when he met her on his way in the form of a huge woman spinning and grazing pigs.[35]

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[33] *V. Alex. Acoem.* 9–10 (ed. de Stoop 1911, 663–664).

[34] *V. Alex. Acoem.* 11–17 (ed. de Stoop 1911, 664–670).

[35] Call. *v. Hyp.* 30.1 (ed. Bartelink 1971, 200); 45 (ed. Bartelink 1971, 270–272). On St. Hypatios and the pagan cults of Bithynia, cf. Trombley 1993–1994, 2: 76–96.

The *Life* and *Miracles* of St. Thekla offer one of the best known accounts of transformation of pagan temples into churches. This is a work of the fifth century, traditionally attributed by the manuscripts and menologia to Basil, bishop of Seleucia in Isauria. It has been shown that it was written by an anonymous and highly educated author of the fifth century in elaborate classicizing style with numerous references to passages of ancient Greek literature, especially Homer.[36] Thekla was "second after the Apostles and the protomartyr Stephen and first among women."[37] She was born in Ikonion, rejected her family and her fiancé and followed the apostle Paul. The *Acta Pauli et Theclae* describe her travels, her chaste adventures, and her miracles. She was miraculously saved from her persecutors, and she finally settled on a hill near Seleucia in Isauria. There, according to her *Life*,[38] she engaged herself in an effort to expel the local pagan cults and take over their temples. The first target was the demon Sarpedon/Sarpedonios (Apollo), whose oracle was located on the promontory by the sea. The nature of the conflict is described with a military term, the verb ἐπιτειχίζω, which means "to build a fort or stronghold on the frontier of the enemy's country to serve as the basis of operations against him."[39] She also walled herself up (ἐπιτειχίζει) against the warrior demon Athena who dwelt on the acropolis and protected the weavers of the district. We are told that Athena was perhaps still living in her tower.[40]

The account of the *Miracles* is more specific and offers greater details. It begins with the expulsion of the pagan gods from their sanctuaries. The introduction is a long condemnation of famous oracular sanctuaries: of Zeus at Dodone, of Apollo at Delphi, of Asklepios at Pergamon, of Epidaure and of Aigai. Their oracles were inventions and plain stories: they were marked by ambiguity, fraud, and deceit. By contrast, the remedies and predictions of the saints were true, clear, simple, holy.[41] The first miracle relates the abolition of the oracle of Sarpedon. We are told that the myth of Sarpedon was very ancient and known to all from stories and books. He was a foreigner searching for his sister who

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On the cult of sacred trees and their Christianization, cf. Trombley 1993–1994, 1: 156–157.

[36] Dagron 1978, 13–19.

[37] Bas. Sel. *v. Thecl.* 172.13–15.

[38] Bas. Sel. *v. Thecl.* 27.53–61 (ed. Dagron 1978, 278).

[39] *LSJ* s.v.

[40] Dagron 1978, 84–85.

[41] Bas. Sel. *mir. Thecl.* (ed. Dagron 1978, 284–290).

ended up on the coast of that land. Killed by the locals with whom he came into conflict, he was buried on the promontory. Although he was a human, he was believed to be a god and gained a reputation as a prophet. When Thekla reached the land and occupied that promontory, she reduced Sarpedon again into a human and imposed silence on his oracle. Until the time of the author of the *Miracles*, she had silenced the talkative prophet by opposing to him the word of Christ: "be silent, muzzle" (Σιώπα, πεφίμωσο: Mark 4:39). Thus Sarpedon remained silent and defeated. His tomb or temple was converted into a Christian monastery, but the author could not confirm with certainty that Sarpedon had left his tomb.[42]

In the second miracle, after the victory over Sarpedon, Thekla attacked the nearby mountaintop, originally called mount Kokysion and later "sanctuary of the Athena Kanetis." This mountain was taken from the pagan goddess to be placed under Christ's authority. Athena's temple was obviously transformed into a church and a monastery. At the time the author was writing, the site was dedicated to martyrs who are compared with generals and fighters occupying a high fortress. The vocabulary used by the hagiographer is again military: the shield-bearer Athena, the protector of the city, the Pallas, was defeated by the attack of the saint, the disarmed, foreign, naked maiden.[43]

In the third miracle, the goddess Aphrodite is chased out of the city in a very different manner: without taking any account of her, except through indignation, as if it were a young girl with licentious behavior that was shaken off and was chased from the city. Aphrodite's temple was converted into a church in the first half of the fifth century, at the time of Dexianos, bishop of Seleucia, who is compared with Diomedes, thus implying the parallel of Thekla with Athena.[44] Last, in the fourth miracle, she brought the war to the chief of the pagan demons, Zeus. After she prevailed over him, bravely like a man, she pushed him out of the city, as a tyrant and sinful. She transformed Zeus' sanctuary into a church dedicated to St. Paul.[45]

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[42] Bas. Sel. *mir. Thecl.* 1 (ed. Dagron 1978, 290–292). Cf. also Dagron 1978, 81–82, 85–88.

[43] Bas. Sel. *mir. Thecl.* 2 (ed. Dagron 1978, 292), and Dagron 1978, 82, 84–85.

[44] Bas. Sel. *mir. Thecl.* 3 (ed. Dagron 1978, 292), and Dagron 1978, 82.

[45] Bas. Sel. *mir. Thecl.* 4 (ed. Dagron 1978, 294), and Dagron 1978, 82, 414, 416.25–26.

The *Life* and the *Miracles* of Thekla do not contain any description of the physical destruction of the temples. By the time these texts were written, the temples were abandoned. The classical education of the author might also have dictated a careful, non-confrontational treatment of the subject. However, in various passages of the *Miracles*, Thekla is presented as confrontational, ready to engage in combat, aggressive even when she performed miracles. In the narrative of her chasing the pagan gods from their temples, the words are chosen from military vocabulary, i.e. ἐπιτειχίσασα, ἐπιστρατεύει, φρούριον ὑψηλότατον ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ πολεμάρχων, μετατάττει τὸν πόλεμον… καταγωνισαμένη.[46]

The *Life* and the *Miracles* offer striking evidence of the continuity of the cult sites and of the persistence of pagan beliefs in the local population for quite some time after the sites' Christianization. Sarpedon's cult had a strong tradition in the area, and the hagiographer admits that he was not certain that the pagan prophet had abandoned his tomb, and that he was known to all, while some still believed in him.[47] One of the miracles of the saint was performed in a church dedicated to her near Aigai in Cilicia, where the famous sanctuary of Asklepios was located. The pagan sophist Isokasios, suffering from a disease, was brought into the saint's church, where he fell asleep and was finally cured by the saint. This appears to be a Christian version of pagan incubation. Also the pagan sophist Aretarchos was cured by Thekla, but he attributed the cure to Sarpedon who, as he claimed, had ordered him to ask for her cure.[48]

From the middle of the fifth century, the accounts regarding pagan temples in the hagiographical sources change. The pagan cult was no longer alive in these temples. The pagan temples mentioned in our sources were located in the countryside, they were abandoned, and the saints moved into them seeking a place to dwell. There the saints no longer encountered pagan statues, but the spirits of the gods, the demons, who tried to push them out by force or by inspiring fear in them. Our first examples come from the *Historia religiosa*, the history

[46] Bas. Sel. *mir. Thecl.* 1.18 (ed. Dagron 1978, 290); 2.1 (292); 2.7; 4.1; 2 (294).

[47] Bas. Sel. *mir. Thecl.* 1.1, 3, 19–20 (ed. Dagron 1978, 290, 292), and Dagron 1978, 87.

[48] Bas. Sel. *mir. Thecl.* 39 (ed. Dagron 1978, 394), 40 (396). On the persistence of paganism in the area as revealed in the *Miracles* of St. Thekla, cf. Dagron 1978, 90–94.

of the monks of Syria by Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus (died ca. 466). The holy man Maron in Syria settled in an abandoned temple, utilizing the temple as a precinct. Thus, he consecrated the demons' temple (τῷ Θεῷ καθοσιώσας).[49] Another holy man, Thalelaeus, settled in an abandoned temple 20 stades (7 km) outside the coastal city Gabala, south of Antioch. There he constructed a small hut. The locals continued to worship the pagan gods of the temple out of fear for their destructive power. The pagan demons tried to frighten Thalelaeus and expel him from the temple, but they failed on account of the saint's great faith. Their fury was ultimately directed against the fig and olive trees of the area: they uprooted more than five hundred of them. Then they attempted to terrify the holy man by wailing and displaying torches at night. But in vain, for the saint laughed at their attacks. He converted the people of the district to Christianity with the miracles that he performed for them and their animals. They, on their side, helped him to demolish the pagan temple and to construct a Christian church on the site.[50]

The *Life* of St. Daniel the Stylite, who died in 493, contains a similar account. The saint settled in a temple at Anaplous near Constantinople after he fought against the demons for three days, similar to a soldier fighting against barbarians.[51] The evil spirits (πνεύματα πονηρά) dwelling in the pagan temple were very destructive, causing many ships to sink and attacking travelers. It was impossible to pass by this location safely. Daniel prepared himself spiritually for the fight. He thought of St. Anthony and all the trials he endured from the demons. He went to the temple's forecourt, then to the middle of the temple; he took a cross like an unconquerable weapon and chanted, "My God is my illumination and my salvation; whom should I fear?" (Psalm 26,1). He reached all the corners of the temple to expel the demons, and he was kneeling in prayer. At night, the demon, the master of darkness, showed up and attacked Daniel with stones. Sound and noises were heard. But the saint remained fearless, praying. He addressed the demons and assured them that he would not be scared. This went on during the first two nights.

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[49] Thdt. *h. rel.* 16.1; 21.3.3–6.

[50] Thdt. *h. rel.* 28.1–2; 28.5–9. Cf. also Trombley 1993–1994, 1: 105–106.

[51] *Vita Danielis stylitae antiquior* 14–16, *vita tertia* 9–11 (ed. Delehaye 1923, 14–16, 111–113).

In the third night, the demons appeared to the saint, their leader resembling a huge carnivorous man, uttering shrill cries, and threatening him. He told the saint that they were the masters of the temple's site, where they had been dwelling for a long time. Some of the demons attempted to throw him into the sea, some threw big stones at him, but none had the courage to touch him. The saint was encouraged by their hesitation and prepared his counterattack. He threatened the demons and blocked the entrance of the temple, indicating to them that he intended to stay there and fight alone against them. He opened only a small door to be seen by those Christians who visited him, and to get some food. Thus the place was free of the demons, and people could sail safely. As a result of the saint's occupation of the pagan temple and the successful resistance against the demons, his reputation was increased and his fame spread. People of the area visited him and admired how the place was changed from a place of destruction to a place of salvation, from a place where shouts of demons were heard to a place full of psalms to God.

In the *Life* of St. Matrona from Perge, a pagan temple became the saint's dwelling and a place of conversion for pagans of the area. The *Life* has as its central theme the adventures of Matrona, who abandoned her abusive husband and sought refuge in the male monastery of Bassianos in Constantinople disguised as a monk. Matrona lived in the fifth century (she was born ca. 430 and died ca. 510–515). The *Life*, as it has been preserved, was written after the middle of the sixth century, but it was based on an earlier text.[52] Followed by her husband, she was obliged to travel abroad in the Holy Land, and finally she returned to Constantinople, where she established a monastery where the nuns wore the male monastic dress. Historical sources refer to her opposition to the emperor Anastasios I (491–518) for his monophysite measures.[53] When she was in Jerusalem, she was informed that her husband had arrived, searching for her. Then, in order to escape, she left for the area of Beirut and settled in a pagan temple, choosing to be consumed by the demons or beasts rather than to fall into the hands of her husband. She thought that demons were serving God and the beasts were pursuing virtue, and that they might respect her, something

[52] Featherstone – Mango 1996, 15–16.
[53] Featherstone – Mango 1996, 13–14.

that she could not expect from her husband. In the pagan temple she chanted psalms, but the demons did not leave her any quiet.

While she was chanting at night, the demons sung in response. She heard the voices of many men and she was frightened. Then she fortified herself as with a wall by making the sign of the cross. She was wondering where these psalms were coming from, since the place was deserted and the temple was profane. She went out of the temple to see where the voices were coming from. Finding nothing, she went back into the temple. The voices continued for many days. Then after fasting during three days, she prayed to God to reveal to her the origin of the voices that had frightened her. Indeed, God listened to her prayer. Another day, when she had completed the psalmody, the demons began chanting indecently and uttering disorderly and base voices, and they even brought about a fire at the door of the temple. Matrona defended herself by making the sign of the cross and by pronouncing *epitimia* against them, thus obliging the demons to flee to the mountains together with the fire. Indeed, the mountains appeared as if they were covered by darkness.[54] Her holy conduct and her dwelling at the temple gained her a favorable reputation in the area of Beirut. It was believed that her holy conduct chased away the demons of the temple.[55]

During the time she stayed at the pagan sanctuary, many men and women of the upper-class visited her from Beirut to see her and receive her blessing. Many women stayed with her at the temple for many days; they were converted to Christianity, received the chrism and baptism, and were taught by the saint letters and the Scriptures. In one case, angry relatives of a young woman followed her to the temple and stayed at the door. Evidently the temple was still standing and its door was in place. They demanded that the young woman follow her family back to the city and threatened the saint that they would set the temple on fire. But in vain. Matrona chose to provoke them: she asked her followers to collect wood and sent a message to the pagans of Beirut that the wood was ready and they could go to set her and the temple on fire. The plan was successful. The pagans admired her courage and let her alone.[56] A century after the events at Gaza, as described in the *Life* of St. Porphyry, the pagans' reaction to the saint's provocation was very different.

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[54] *Vita Matronae* 14–15 (*ActaSS Novembris* 3: 790–813).
[55] Ibid., 19.
[56] Ibid., 19–22.

Purification was an essential part of the Christian occupation of a pagan sanctuary. In the panegyric on St. Claudius by Severus of Antioch, we find an account of the destruction of a pagan temple and the erection of a martyrium on the site. Severus had fled to Egypt seeking safety away from his enemies. He had a vision of St. Claudius, who revealed to him that his body was buried nearby a pagan temple in a village of the province of Lykopolis (Assiout).[57] The saint ordered Severus to build a martyrium there. The saint's burial site was discovered with the help of a local monk. On the monk's advice, the notables of the village purified the temple and built a church on the site. All the villagers participated in the destruction of the temple with their animals and their tools, and Severus purified the temple's site. All the villagers contributed as much gold as they had for the construction of the church; the *dux* of the province provided furniture, wood, and specialized workers.[58]

The establishment of saints in pagan temples is described more quietly and smoothly in saints' *Lives* of the sixth century. St. Gregentius, in the first half of that century, built a church on a pagan temple just outside the city of Akragas. The temple had remained intact, and the cult idols were still standing inside. When he settled in the temple, he made an altar and raised the cross. After he prayed to God, the demons that dwelt in the idols of Eber and Rhaps were forced to leave.[59]

Hagiographical sources of the sixth century develop the theme of pagan demons in the countryside, where there were still remnants of paganism. In 542, John of Ephesus was sent on a mission in the countryside of Asia Minor to eradicate the last remnants of paganism. The enterprise was not easy. Sometimes there was resistance: for example, during the construction of a monastery on the site of a pagan temple near Tralleis, demons attacked one of the monk-builders and threw him away down the hill; but he was miraculously saved.[60] Hagiography, on the other hand, presents the eradication of the last pagan cult sites in the countryside in a different light: the saints easily neutralized the remaining pagan demons.

The *Life* of St. Nicholas of Sion provides an interesting example. Nicholas of Sion lived in the first half of the sixth century and died

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[57] The discovery of a saint's body with a revelation in a vision or a dream is a *topos* in hagiography; cf. Le Goff 1988, 223.

[58] Severus, *Paneg. S. Claudii*, 495–503 (ed. Gordon 1970).

[59] *Vita Gregentii* (*PG* 98: 709B).

[60] Jo. Eph. *h. e.* 3.3.36 (pp. 125–127, Brooks [trans.]).

in 564. His *Vita* was written after his death, apparently by one of his disciples.[61] He was abbot of the monastery of Holy Sion near Myra, the capital of Lycia, and was ordained bishop of the city of Pinara in western Lycia. According to the tradition, during the reign of Constantine the Great there lived in the area of Lycia another saint by the same name, St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra. He became a legendary figure and is known in the West as Santa Claus. While St. Nicholas of Sion was a historical figure, St. Nicholas of Myra is a rather obscure saint about whom we have information from later sources. In the course of the centuries, the tradition of the two saints merged, and several events of the *Life* of St. Nicholas of Sion were transferred to the *Life* of St. Nicholas of Myra, who became popular in Byzantium in the tenth century.

An episode of interest to the present investigation is the felling of a certain cypress tree in the countryside of Lycia, believed to be a "holy tree" (ξύλον ἱερόν) inhabited by a spirit of an unclean idol that caused harm to the local rustics.[62] Nicholas of Sion himself struck the tree with a sword and the spirit was expelled, not only from the tree but also from the confines of Lycia. Local villagers sawed down the tree with the saint's prayers, and it was dragged to the monastery of St. Sion. The tree was thus sanctified and offered protection to men and women (καὶ ὡς ἔδειξας ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ξύλον καὶ ἐφυγάδευσας τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν εἰς ἁγιασμὸν ἠλευθέρωσας καὶ εἰς φυλακτήριον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις).[63]

In the later *vitae* of St. Nicholas of Myra, the saint is presented as destroying the pagan temples of his metropolis and driving away the demons and making them inoperative (ἀπράκτους). Special mention is made of the temple of Artemis, known from the ancient sources as Artemis Eleuthera, the major cult of the area. This temple surpassed the others in terms of its size, variety of buildings, and demons' visitations. The saint demolished the temple, dug up its foundations and chased away the demons that inhabited in it.[64] In the legend of Nicholas of Myra, a story was added after the saint's death. The goddess is presented

[61] *V. Nicol. Sion* 11 (ed. Ševčenko – Patterson Ševčenko 1984).

[62] *V. Nicol. Sion* 15–20 (ed. Ševčenko – Patterson Ševčenko 1984, 34–42). For the survival of pagan cults in Lycia, cf. Robert 1955, 188–222.

[63] *V. Nicol. Sion* 20.26–29 (ed. Ševčenko – Patterson Ševčenko 1984, 42).

[64] *Vita Nicolai Myrensis* I, 127–128 (28–29), 228 (ed. Anrich 1913–1917). Cf. *Vita Nicolai Myrensis* II, 225–226, 275–276 (ed. Anrich 1913–1917).

as a witch motivated by a desire to take revenge for her defeat by the saint. She attempted to pass on to travellers a pot with magical oil for the lamps of his church. But with the saint's intervention, the poison was thrown into the sea, producing a major flame, smoke, bad odors, and boiling of the water.[65] The legend of the earlier Nicholas of Myra includes the destruction of the pagan temples of Myra, with emphasis on the temple of Artemis, while in the *Life* of the sixth-century St. Nicholas of Sion, the temples were no longer a threat in the cities, the only remnant of paganism being found in the countryside in a sacred cypress tree. It is significant to note that in the sixth century the symbol of the pagan cult was sanctified and incorporated into Christian religious practice by turning it into a Christian *phylakterion*.

The *Life* of St. Theodore of Sykeon, who was born in the village of Sykeon in Galatia during the reign of Justinian (527–565) and died in 613, was written by his disciple George, an abbot of the Sykeon monastery. There was a location in the countryside where none could approach, especially at midday, because Artemis was making noise around with many demons and causing harm, even death. The saint was surprised at this rumor, and after the mass of the third hour he went to that location and remained there during midday, but no evil activity was evident.[66]

In the seventh century, the *Life* of St. Alypios describes a further development of the saints' relation with the pagan monuments. Alypios settled in an ancient cemetery outside Adrianople in Paphlagonia. He chose a funeral monument with the statue of a *tauroleon* on a column. "He approached the statue as if it were alive, delighted at the view of an old friend, he embraced the statue with great desire, and spoke to it pleasantly and gently: 'I greet you, most precious merchandise among stones; thus, you having been found unfit for anything else than a grave-marker by those who built you, I welcome you, because being the head of a cornerstone you are appropriate for me; this has been made by God, to believe and find it marvelous to look at; I greet you, stone, in Christ; you must also rejoice, because Christ himself, the unshaken power, is called true stone, on which I wish to support my feet. I have

[65] *Vita Nicolai Myrensis* I, 135–137, 270–271, 310–311, 399–400, 403, 410–411 (ed. Anrich 1913–1917); *Vita Nicolai Myrensis* II, 433–436 (ed. Anrich 1913–1917).

[66] Georgius Syceotes, *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 16 (ed. Festugière 1970, 13–14).

chosen this residence in eternal rest.'"[67] The saint brought from the city an icon of Christ, a cross, and a lever and overturned the statue. Then he set up the cross, symbol of life, and the icon of Christ. Thus with the divine power, the enemy army of Satan would be ridiculed. In this account, the saint's enemies are no longer the pagan gods, but Satan himself, symbolizing death and conquered by Christ with his crucifixion. The statue of the pagan grave marker had lost any pagan connotation. The pagan gods had been conquered long ago, and they no longer preoccupied the hagiographer. Thus he felt free to invent new symbolic Christian interpretations of the erection of the church on the site of the pagan tomb. The pagan monument had become part of the Christian world. Indeed, Christian symbolism is further developed in Symeon Metaphrastes' version of this *Life*: the statue was precious to the saint because, being a grave marker, it would correspond with the voluntary death of his life.[68] The pagan monument had become a mere symbolic reference.

Until the early fifth century, hagiographical texts present the saints settling in the pagan temples and chasing away the pagan gods with personal confrontations. This was a period of struggle against paganism, a period of confrontation with the pagans, a period of saints' missionary activity. Their stance toward the pagan gods was expected to inspire Christians and to convert pagans to the new religion. They fought against the pagan gods in their cult sites as soldiers against an enemy. Their aim was to eradicate the pagan cult and replace it with the Christian cult. The debate about what to do with the destroyed pagan sanctuaries is found in the *Life* of Porphyry, either to delete the memory of the pagan cult from the site by abandoning it, or to replace it with the construction of a Christian church. Religious symbolism was developed to explain the use of building material from temples into the new churches: it was a symbol of victory and a permanent reminder of the pagans' defeat. Later in the fifth century, the temples are presented as abandoned, but still standing, rarely with the cult statues inside, but the pagan cult had been forgotten. Hagiography of this period shows the saints settling into abandoned temples from which the demons of the pagan gods tried to expel them. These demons had evil powers and resembled ghosts. As we move into the sixth century, the scenario

[67] *Vita Alypii stylitae prior* 9 (ed. Delehaye 1923, 154.8–16).
[68] Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vitae sanctorum (mensis Novembris)* 8 (*PG* 116: 176).

changes again. The pagan demons had lost their power of resistance and they were leaving the temples quietly. They were expelled without personal confrontation with the saints. Ultimately the process of Christianization of the pagan site was reduced to a religious ritual, as it is described in the *Life* of St. Gregentius. In the sixth century, paganism was almost completely eradicated, the pagan temples had long ago been abandoned, the saints had won in the struggle and become the masters of the pagan sites. Some of the pagan symbols, like the cypress tree in the *Life* of St. Nicholas of Sion, were Christianized and incorporated into the Christian cult.

Such ambiguity and acceptance of pagan elements into Christian churches is known from the archaeological record of the early Byzantine period. For example, numerous spolia are found incorporated into early Byzantine churches, and very often inscriptions and reliefs were Christianized with the sign of the cross; often sculptures with explicit pagan scenes are placed in prominent positions in church walls, like the frieze of dancing satyrs on the interior wall and masks on the exterior of the apse of basilica E in Sagalassos,[69] or the door jambs of the central entrance to the Petra church with representations of pagan deities,[70] and pagan iconography in church mosaics.[71]

To sum up, we have discerned a thematic evolution in the early Byzantine hagiography determined by the historical context of each century. The few *Lives* of saints containing episodes related to pagan cult places shed light on some key issues of their transformation into Christian churches: contemporary attitudes, specific historical circumstances, religious symbolism and ceremonial associated with the conversion of temples. Apart from its value as a literary genre, hagiography must also be treated as a historical source.

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[69] Vandeput 1993, 93–100 and fig. 86 (p. 107), fig. 77 (p. 102).
[70] See Saradi 2006, 370–372.
[71] Fiema 2002, 219.

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CHAPTER SIX

ICONOCLASM AND CHRISTIANIZATION IN LATE ANTIQUE EGYPT: CHRISTIAN TREATMENTS OF SPACE AND IMAGE

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> The ivory was cut into small pieces by one sharp, heavy tool operated at high speed. The surfaces of the cuts are burnt, as are the surfaces of the recognizable small pieces of the figure, which suggests that the statue was first divided into smaller pieces and burnt afterwards. There is no doubt that the figure was destroyed intentionally.[1]

This description of image fragments found in excavations in Alexandria gives one of the more concrete glimpses of Christian iconoclasm during the late fourth and early fifth centuries. It is supplemented by archaeological descriptions of temples' meticulous demolition: Philae, for example, where soldiers on scaffolding aided the monks in chipping away the enormous reliefs of gods.[2] Or even the secret caches of images found at several temples, whose archaeologists have proposed a deliberate attempt by local priests to protect traditional holy objects.[3]

But as illuminating as these archaeological remains are to the intensity of Christian iconoclastic destruction, we must appeal to the legends of early Egyptian Christians—monks, bishops, and others—to get some idea of the *mentality* of those engaging in such acts. In this paper I am interested in the ritual destruction of holy things—"iconoclasm"—as a repertoire of gestures that impose meaning and purity on the environment. I am less interested in documentation of particular historical figures than in the range of iconoclastic acts *remembered* as meaningful

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[1] Rodziewicz 1991, 121.

[2] Nautin 1967; cf. O'Leary 1938, and in general Caseau 2001, 86–107.

[3] Sidebotham – Wendrich – Hense 1996, esp. 242–243; Hussein 2000, 107–108; Caseau 2001, 112–113. It is now clear that the collection of Egyptian sacred images that Shenoute of Atripe finds secreted in the home of Gesios consists of objects rescued from a temple like the one Shenoute destroyed in Atripe: see *Let Our Eyes* in Emmel (in this volume), and cf. Zachariah's description of objects found in the Menouthis Isis shrine apparently rescued from Memphis: Zach. Mit. *v. Sev.* (p. 29, Kugener).

in Egyptian Christian tradition.[4] Thus, I turn to several *ex post facto* narratives of iconoclasm from Egyptian hagiography and historiography, listed and summarized here in order of literary composition (with the approximate dating of events depicted in parentheses):

1) Legend of Apollo of Hermopolis, from *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* chapter 8 (text: end of IV c.e.): Apollo magically halts image procession associated with Nile cult, ultimately convinces villagers to burn image and embrace Christianity (events: first half of IV c.e.).[5]
2) Shenoute of Atripe, sermons (late IV–early V c.e.) and *Vita* attributed to his disciple Besa (late V c.e.): Shenoute destroys large temple in Atripe, pillages temple in nearby village of Plewit (Pnewit), and exposes cache of Egyptian images hidden in home of ex-governor Gesios, while publicly decrying heathen popular religion in sermons (most events in 390s?).[6]
3) Zachariah of Mitylene, *Life of Severus* (text: 515 c.e.): destruction of cult of Isis at Menouthis by *philoponoi* and monks of Enaton and Tabennesi under direction of Bishop Peter Mongos, leading to purge of domestic images in Alexandria (events: 489 c.e.).[7]
4) Paphnutius, *Histories of the Monks of Upper Egypt* (VI c.e.): Macedonius—governor, then bishop, then monk—destroys Horus-falcon in temple of Philae (340s c.e.).[8]
5) *Panegyric on* Macarius of Tkōou (later VI c.e.): Macarius and several monks destroy cult of "Kothos," burning down temple (V c.e.).[9]
6) *Life of* Moses of Abydos (VI/VII c.e.): Moses exorcizes temple of demon "Bes" and temple of "Apollo," also killing priests of Apollo, then establishes convent in Abydos (ca. 500 c.e.).[10]

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[4] Compare the more general project of Gaddis 2005.

[5] *Hist. mon.* 8.24–29 (ed. Festugière 1971, 56–58).

[6] See in general Emmel 2004. Text editions on native religion in Panopolis include: Amélineau 1907–1914, vol. 1; Leipoldt 1906–1913; and Behlmer 1996.

[7] Ed. Kugener 1904, 16–35.

[8] Paphn. *h. mon.* 29–36 (ed. Budge 1915, 444–446; trans. Vivian 1993, 85–89). See Brakke and Hahn (both in this volume) for interpretations of the larger narrative of which this story is a component. I take the story as itself historically based, but its association with the beginnings of Christianity in Philae seem woven as etiology.

[9] *Pan. Mac. Antae.* 5.1–11 (ed. Johnson 1980, 1:29–39). On the possible dating of the panegyric also to the fifth century, see now Moawad 2007.

[10] *Life of Moses of Abydos* (ed. Till 1935–1936, 2:46–81; Amélineau 1888–1895, 679–706; and Moussa 1998, Moussa 2003).

I. Caveats in the Use of Hagiography

It is important to acknowledge the literary tendencies of these kinds of texts, which have often been viewed as detrimental to the texts' ability to document real events or situations. First among these tendencies is the texts' overwhelming commitment to biblical typology: not just the narrative *exempla* afforded by stories of Elijah and the priests of Baal or the ludicrous behavior of Canaanite or Babylonian idols, but also a poetic discourse about idolatry from Jeremiah, Isaiah, and other biblical texts, all of which offered a kind of rhetorical paradigm for *ritually* declaring holy images to be "mere" stone or wood or metal.[11] Such ritual declarations of artifice and impotence will be discussed more thoroughly below.

Secondly, the hagiographical texts tend to describe local cults with a terminology neither Egyptian nor biblical but *classical*: gods are labelled "Kronos" or "Apollo" or "Aphrodite," and typical heathen ritual appears not usually as the procession of images or the chanting of hymns, but as blood sacrifice—even human sacrifice.[12] This deliberate "classical" caricaturing of local Egyptian religion does not reflect audiences' assumptions about gods—for they knew and even named each other by the ancient divinities: Hor, Besa, Anoub, for example. Nor does it continue naturally from the *interpretationes graecae* that many Egyptian local cults had long assimilated (in efforts to promote or generalize their deities in Hellenistic guise).[13] Rather, the caricature reflects a larger political programme of the late fourth century to envision traditional religion as a version of Julian's intellectual paganism, or even a version of the third-century ritual edicts, whose effects some Christians were still retelling as atrocity legends.[14] In such terms an artificial "heathenism" was represented as the "evil out there," with its own familiar characters and perverse rites to make clear the threat it posed.

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[11] Biblical stories of idolatry: 1 Kings 18; 1 Sam 5–6; Dan 14 (Bel & the dragon). Poetic discourse of idolatry: Jer 10:3.8; Isa 44:9–20.

[12] On classical nomenclature and caricature, see Van der Vliet 1993, 111–115; cf. Emmel 1994. On "sacrificial" caricature of Egyptian cult (esp. *Pan. Mac. Antae.* 5.1–2 [ed. Johnson 1980, 29–30] and Zach. Mit. *v. Sev.* [p. 29, Kugener]), see Van der Vliet 1993, 108 n. 45; Frankfurter 1998, 24–26; and more generally Nock 1972; Winkler 1980; and Rives 1995.

[13] On ancient gods preserved in onomastica, see Toro Rueda 2003. On preservation of gods through *interpretatio graeca*, see Quaegebeur 1983.

[14] See Drake 1996, 33–36. See also Caseau 2001, 90–92; Belayche 2002.

Contrary to those who would cast hagiography to the realm of sheer fiction for these literary tendencies, I believe that we can acknowledge such tendencies without dismissing completely the value of the texts as authentic reflections of abiding Egyptian religion and Christians' reactions to it. When we identify biblical references and classicizing terminology or establish internal literary structures, we certainly do not negate the historical elements in the texts. Indeed, there are enough points of authentic religious detail that these texts should be critically retained as at least general evidence about Egyptian cults in the fourth and fifth centuries and aspects of their downfall.[15] Not all hagiography can serve as historical documentation of particular events; much, indeed, offers inspirational assemblages of grounding legend, literary spectacle, and only distant recollections of Egyptian religious practice. The point is to be careful what questions one puts to it, what expectations one has of these literary assemblages.

II. Observations on Christian Iconoclasm

We have certainly progressed beyond the stage where the topic of Christian iconoclasm could be covered merely on the basis of theological discussions of idolatry and patristic notions of converting the heathen.[16] Now the study of Christians' destruction of holy images, whether "heathen" or Christian, cannot but be informed and guided by cross-cultural studies of iconoclastic violence. Cross-cultural resources provide us with models for making sense of the data. They are derived from close studies of cultures of other places and times, but they allow us to think thematically and critically about our interpretations of the historical documents at the center of our study and, even more, our constructions of larger generalizing statements about, say, "religion" or "sacred image" or "paganism." This is not a matter of importing anachronistic parallels, but rather of observing typical attitudes or patterns in better documented situations.[17] Thus, for example, scholars of iconoclastic destruction during the European Reformation have pointed out *not* the prior emptiness or superficiality of the objects destroyed—

[15] Wipszycka 1988; Van der Vliet 1993, esp. 115–118; Frankfurter 2006; cf. Brakke 2002, 488–490.

[16] E.g., Thornton 1986.

[17] See Bonnell 1980; Smith 1982; Smith 1990, esp. 51–53; Frankfurter 2006, 33–36.

statues, devotional metalware, processional equipment—but rather their profound meaning for people in the region of conflict. These objects served not only as the medium for divinity but also as *integrators of landscape and time*.[18] They would be taken out and processed ritually at certain dates in the calendar, across established routes through districts or villages. The vehemence and methods of these objects' destruction during the Reformation's various spasms inevitably assumed this prior meaning and acknowledged their power.

Indeed, this power would be deemed threatening at every level; and so to neutralize it people must ritually displace or purify the materials. *Ritual* here does not mean "repeated" or unspontaneous acts, but rather deliberate, focused acts: people bringing to bear on the objects of destruction the authority and performative resources of religious tradition. For example, surrounding acts of iconoclasm there is often a discourse for reconceiving the power in the object in a way that demands its ritual neutralization: demonology or idolatry or perversity, for example. What is demonic must be expurgated; idols must be smashed; symbols of perversity must be washed away. In the same way, the ritual displacement and destruction of critical points of the old religious order—images, accoutrements, holy places, sometimes even priests—creates the necessity for a new order: a purified Christendom or, in the present case, Christianity itself with its cult of saints.[19] Thus, in late antiquity, iconoclastic acts against temples and images would have signified attempts to *reorder* space, time, and the locus of the holy in dramatic revolutionary gestures, in many ways continuing—in both more intimate and more cosmic dimensions—the civic attacks on imperial statues of earlier Roman times.[20]

We might well ask, then, whether images and temples in Egypt could still have retained this kind of power in the fourth and fifth centuries, or whether they were generally viewed as detritus of the past. A great range of data—from papyri and inscriptions to literature—suggests that in many, perhaps most, places in Egypt, temples did indeed project such powers.[21] Indeed, Libanius serves as a pertinent witness to this temporal, axial value of temples in the Eastern Mediterranean more broadly. Temples, he says, "are the soul of the countryside: they mark

[18] Wandel 1994, esp. 7–23. See also Davis 1975.
[19] Frankfurter 1998, 277–283.
[20] Stewart 1999.
[21] Frankfurter 1998, 37–77; Frankfurter 2008.

the beginning of its settlement, and have been passed down through many generations to the men of today. In them the farming communities rest their hopes for husbands, wives, children, for their oxen and the soil they sow and plant."[22] Even if pronounced in secular, almost sociological terms, Libanius's observations do correspond to what Egyptian temple inscriptions themselves say about temples and the value of temple images as well.[23] Even if numerous temples had fallen into decay by the mid-fourth century, we can assume neither their irrelevance in local religion nor the complete demise of local cults.[24] Indeed, Christians' destructive responses to temples and images reflect some of the power that lingered in these sacred remains well through late antiquity.

III. Neutralizing the Heathen Idol

Main temple images represented the very presence of a local god in the recesses of the temple or in procession. Priests dressed them and paraded them along established routes to bestow fertility, to revitalize the god's authority in the cultural order, and to link minor sanctuaries to regional ones.[25] More broadly in Egyptian culture, domestic images—of Isis or Bes or Min, etc.—provided the mainstays of domestic shrines, the representation of major and local gods' authority in the household setting.[26] Traditional Egyptians and urbane alike took images very seriously: as a Hermetic text from about the third century teaches,

> statues [ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ]...are ensouled and conscious, filled with spirit and doing great deeds; statues foreknow the future and predict it by lots, by prophecy, by dreams and by many other means; statues make people ill and cure them, bringing them pain and pleasure as each deserves.[27]

And hagiography, despite its general tendency to caricature, does reflect this reverence: the temple-image procession in Hermopolis that Apa Apollo is said to have encountered and magically halted in the

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[22] Lib. *or.* 30.9–10 (trans. Norman 1977, 108–109).

[23] Cf. Baines 1997 and, on temple images, Kruchten 1997.

[24] Frankfurter 1998, 27–30; cf. Bagnall 1988; Bagnall 1993, 315–324; Caseau 2001, 103–107.

[25] Sauneron 1962.

[26] Frankfurter 1998, § 3.6.

[27] *Asclepius* 24 = Nag Hammadi Codex VI 69:28–70:2 (ed. Mahé 1982, 169, trans. Copenhaver 1992, 81).

Historia monachorum; the domestic images of the god "Kothos" set up in their household niches, according to the *Panegyric on Macarius* (5.1); a priestly family's devotion to the sacred falcon of Philae in the story of Macedonius; the anxiety with which the sacred images in the Isis temple at Menouthis were hidden by the priests, and the fear with which the local people met their later removal and public burning.[28] These scenes could be stereotyped; on the other hand, they match what we know about Egyptian religion in earlier times and the archaeological evidence for the hiding of sacred images.

But what is more important for our purposes is the attitude *towards* these objects taken by the legends' Christian heroes. First, they *declare* them to be biblical types of empty, human manufacture, a verbal, ritual process of *denying* the images' traditional power. That is, the declarations reflect not a prior notion of the image, but rather an attitude the speaker and his acolytes seek to have or—perhaps more likely—a state of dull impotence the speaker seeks to project onto an image feared as potent.[29] Secondly, they treat them as *portable* or *removable* objects at which one can direct destructive zeal.

The fourth-century legend of Apollo of Hermopolis stresses that the processional image was "really only a piece of wood," hence to be easily burned by village converts at Apollo's behest.[30] The language of the *Historia monachorum* certainly differs from the language that the historical Apollo would have used during the episode recalled. Yet it may not be so far off. Shenoute's disciple Besa uses the same trivializing phrase in a sermon to quell Christian villagers' hostility to—I have argued—an Egyptian image still inspiring some local devotion. Rather than an insidiously potent, even Satanic source of danger, Besa argues, it is "only a piece of wood."[31]

Shenoute also caricatures the *artifice* of sacred images in his sermons: "Woe upon those who will worship wood and stone or anything made by man's handiwork (with) wood and stone, or (modeled by putting) clay

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[28] Zach. Mit. *v. Sev.* (pp. 27–28 and 30–31, Kugener). See also Caseau 2001, 84; Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 56–58, on other examples and witnesses to continuing reverence for holy images of the old religious traditions.

[29] On such ritual "speech acts" see Austin 1975; Searle 1975; Tambiah 1968; Wheelock 1982.

[30] *Hist. mon.* 8.25: ξύλινον…ἄρα τὸ ξόανον (ed. Festugière 1971, 56).

[31] Besa fr. 41 ("To the Dignitaries and People of the Village"): villagers "fighting for nothing over a piece of wood [ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲟⲩⲗⲁⲕⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲉ]" (ed. Kuhn 1956, 1:129–130), on which see Frankfurter 2000.

inside them."[32] In Besa's memory the abbot makes his crusade on the nearby village of Plewit "in order to cast down the idols there"[33]—and again, his success in this goal represents the dénouement of the story: "my father entered the temple and destroyed the idols, smashing them one on top of the other."[34] Indeed, after this (or some other) crusade Shenoute lists in a sermon the "booty" that he took: "the [image of] Pan[-]Min . . . books of sorcery . . . offering vessels, . . . and lampstands."[35] At a much earlier time, when the temple of Philae was still an important regional cult, the Christian bishop Macedonius is said to have followed some Egyptian priests into some interior ritual space at the temple and then to have decapitated and burned the sacred falcon when the priests were not looking.[36] Thus in the Christian hagiographers' perspective, sacred images were portable, destroyable objects whose exposure, crushing, or burning could signify the first drastic gesture in the purging of the landscape—an extirpation of the old order focused on the image or cache of images.

The whole theme emerges most vividly in two historical cases, one in late fourth-century Atripe, substantiated by references in Shenoute's sermons, the other in late fifth-century Menouthis, supported by Zachariah's apparently eyewitness account of the destruction of the Isis temple there. Speaking sometime at the beginning of the fifth century, Shenoute says that "we burned the heathen temple that was in Atripe," adding at another time that "we burned the place of idols with fire, along with everything that was in it."[37] And yet, he suggests in a third sermon, not all of the Atripe images were destroyed. For Shenoute's local nemesis Gesios, an elder landowner and ex-governor, who may have been pretending to be Christian, managed to rescue a

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[32] Shenoute, *The Lord Thundered* (ed. Amélineau 1907–1914, 1:381). See Van der Vliet 1993, 111–112.

[33] *V. Sin.* 83: ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲉⲥⲉⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛⲛⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ (ed. Leipoldt 1906–1913, 1:41).

[34] ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲥ† ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲓⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣϥⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲥⲡ ⲛⲛⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲭⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲧⲁⲕⲱⲟⲩ (ed. Leipoldt 1906–1913, 1:41).

[35] *Only I Tell Everyone Who Dwells in this Village* (ed. Leipoldt 1906–1913, no. 26, p. 89; cf. Emmel 1994): ⲡⲡⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲙⲓⲛⲡⲉ, . . . ⲡⲭⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲉϩ ⲙⲙⲁⲅⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ, ϣⲁϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲙⲛⲛⲉϣⲁⲩⲧⲁⲗⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲙⲛⲡⲉϩⲛⲁⲩ . . . ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲗⲩⲭⲛⲓⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲟⲏ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ. On "Pan who is Min," see Emmel 1994. In general see Van der Vliet 1993, 107–108.

[36] Paphn. *h. mon.* 31 (trans. Vivian 1993, 87). See Frankfurter 1998, 109–111, and now Dijkstra 2002.

[37] ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲙⲡⲣⲡⲉ ⲛⲣⲉⲥϣⲙϣⲉⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲧϩⲛⲁⲧⲣⲡⲉ (White Monastery codex DD, ed. Leipoldt 1906–1913, 3:91); ⲉⲁⲛⲣⲱⲕϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲱϩ̄ⲧ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ̄ⲕ̄ (*De iudicio*, ed. Behlmer 1996, 92; cf. Emmel 2002, 109 n. 65, and his chapter in this volume, at nn. 9–13). See Behlmer 1996, lxi–lxvi.

good number of temple images and secrete them in some inner chamber of his house. Shenoute and his biographer Besa describe the monks' breaking into this chamber to steal the images.[38]

Past interpretations of this inner chamber of Gesios's imagined it as a domestic shrine—the landowner's extensive private place of devotion.[39] However, Shenoute's inventory of its contents suggests a cache of rescued temple images: "the image of Kronos and the images of the other demons . . . the images of priests with shaven heads and altars in their hands . . . along with her who is called Hecate, through whom people are deceived at the oracles . . . the image of Zeus," and a mysterious object he calls "the measure of the water's rise," that is, the rise of the Nile—identical, he says, to that "which we take in gratitude to the holy church."[40] Indeed, the abbot asserts, "if it had not been we who smashed them in the temple that we burned with everything inside it, we might not have recognized them. . . . [T]he things we found in the temple are also what [Gesios] worships in [his home]."[41] For Shenoute, images are also the *concealed* remnants of the old order, whose exposure and destruction prove the futility of Gesios's dissimulation about religious allegiance. So what, then, does Shenoute do with these images? He first exposes them in the street—"I exposed them openly," he recalls to his audience, "just as you saw them all, each according to its type"—and then, as the *Vita* of Shenoute describes, he and his monks chop them up and dump them in the Nile.[42]

Thus the extirpation of the demonic/heathen order involves several acts: (a) the original *gutting* of the temple and its holy images, which apparently involved their *removal* in order that Shenoute could notice their forms; (b) the *robbery* of the cache of images from Gesios's home, followed by their public exposure outside his house, meant both to *reveal* Gesios's own heathen sympathies and to *neutralize* and lampoon the images through public humiliation; and (c) the mutilation and drowning of these images so as to obliterate them entirely from the religious world of Atripe.

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[38] *V. Sin.* 125–127. See EMMEL 2002, 103–105, on sections from *Let Our Eyes* (see also EMMEL in this volume) in which Shenoute himself alludes to this episode.

[39] EMMEL 1993, 892 = EMMEL 2004, 2:615; VAN DER VLIET 1993, 102–104; FRANKFURTER 1998, 80, 135–136.

[40] Shenoute, *Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.3, 10; fr. 2.12; fr. 2.5–6 (ed. EMMEL in this volume).

[41] Shenoute, *Let Our Eyes* fr. 2.10–11 (ed. EMMEL, in this volume).

[42] Shenoute, *Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.25, 3 (ed. EMMEL, in this volume); *V. Sin.* 125–126 (ed. LEIPOLDT 1906–1913, 1:57). On ritualized derision of traditional statuary see now CASEAU 2007.

In Zachariah's account of the destruction of the Isis temple of Menouthis about a hundred years later, the heroes of iconoclastic purge include both monks (Monophysite and Chalcedonian remarkably united) and members of a fanatical confraternity of Christian students that carried much popular sway in Alexandria: the *philoponoi*. The crusade itself took place at the explicit direction of the Alexandrian bishop Peter Mongos.[43] The great cache of images they find in the Menouthis temple, only twenty kilometers from Alexandria, apparently includes a good number rescued from sanctuaries at Memphis.

On first encountering this great cache, a monk declares "*Heis Theos*"—an apotropaic act, Zachariah asserts, meant "to extirpate the error of polytheism."[44] Then the monks and *philoponoi* haul out the images, a great variety of them, and Zachariah describes their bestial forms (there's even a dragon, he claims!) and their wood manufacture. The images are fully inventoried—as in Shenoute's sermons, an act signifying public victory and humiliation over spoils—and the report is sent to Bishop Peter. Then they divide up the images, throwing a portion immediately on the fire and collecting the most interesting ones for public display. The local people, including the village Christians, Zachariah says, are certain that this desecration will be the death of the invaders.

Overnight the group of *philoponoi* and monks keep the images under vigil, chanting psalms against idols in a kind of exorcistic ceremony.[45] The images are then brought on camel's back to Alexandria and dumped in a central square. The *philoponoi* also ransack domestic shrines in Alexandria for more images, and these are added to the pile.[46]

Now fully exposed, the images are subjected to further ritual dislocation. An old priest brought back from Menouthis is coerced to identify the gods and describe their nefarious rites; then people make fun of the gods, using Greek names (Dionysos the hermaphrodite, Kronos the cannibal, Aphrodite the whore, etc.). Presumably some kind of bonfire followed this public mocking.[47]

Thus images are portable: they can be inventoried as booty and brought *into* Alexandria for public spectacle; they are abhorrently curi-

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[43] See Haas 1997, 238–240, 327–328. On confraternities, see Wipszycka 1970.
[44] Zach. Mit. *v. Sev.* (p. 29, Kugener).
[45] Zach. Mit. *v. Sev.* (pp. 31–32, Kugener), citing Pss 96:5; 97:7; 115:4.
[46] Zach. Mit. *v. Sev.* (pp. 33–34, Kugener).
[47] Zach. Mit. *v. Sev.* (pp. 34–35, Kugener).

ous in form; they are flammable. But they are also powerful: they must be neutralized through ritual declarations like *Heis Theos* and through the chanting of psalms in the overnight vigil. A Christian priest even "tramples" the images at one point, to enact Jesus's potent commission in the Gospel of Luke to trample serpents and scorpions.[48] Finally, they are neutralized through public exposure and mocking: indeed, they are redefined as the ludicrous Greek gods of Julianic paganism.

Before attempting some comparative synthesis of all these cases of iconoclasm, it is important to acknowledge the different political contexts reflected in these legends: Shenoute, a charismatic abbot probably interpreting new anti-heathen laws for his own region; Apollo of Hermopolis, an idiosyncratic holy man manipulating a village's conversion through group-iconoclasm; and the crusade on Menouthis, an *ad hoc* alliance of various monastic groups and *philoponoi*, which Peter Mongos assembled partly to diffuse and externalize civic tensions. The extraordinarily murky context in which Macedonius destroys the sacred falcon of Philae begs for some understanding of his alleged roles as both bishop and (apparently) governor.[49] In general such political contexts would have dictated *how* and *where* images were used destructively to indicate religious change: maverick acts of subversion, public acts of participation in a new order, episcopal acts of directing civic violence.[50] It is not unlikely, as happened elsewhere in the Roman empire, that some of these acts were conceived partly to provoke traditional devotees to murderous retaliation, allowing the creation of martyrs in new eras and places.[51]

But beyond the different political contexts for the destruction of images we can also perceive the silhouettes of real acts of iconoclasm.

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[48] Luke 10:18–19, cited in Zach. Mit. *v. Sev.* (p. 30, Kugener), "enacted" by priest (p. 31, Kugener).

[49] Paphn. *h. mon.* 29–30 (trans. VIVIAN 1993, 85–86). The text proposes that Macedonius began as governor assigned to Aswan, that he subsequently visited Athanasius in Alexandria and was persuaded to be bishop, but that on his return he held the role *incognito*.

[50] Compare American president George W. Bush, 1 May 2003: "In the images of falling statues, we have witnessed the arrival of a new era." Here the declaration is powerful enough to succeed despite very few fallen statues (and little evidence of a new era). The more common and traditional iconoclastic act to demonstrate repudiation of a prior tyrant in April 2003 Iraq was the hitting of images of the deposed Saddam Hussein with sandals.

[51] Examples: Gaza (Soz. *h. e.* 5.9); Arethusa (Soz. *h. e.* 5.10; Thdt. *h. e.* 3.3); Phrygia (Socr. *h. e.* 3.15; Soz. *h. e.* 5.11); Aulon (Soz. *h. e.* 7.15; Thdt. *h. e.* 5.21). Further on the iconoclastic acts as martyrdom: GADDIS 2005.

One type of iconoclastic treatment that emerges in several reports is the effort to invert images' powers through *removing* them from their proper, sacred environments and *exposing* them in profane space—sometimes after a mocking procession. This technique has been documented at other times in history, most often against images and objects whose proper placement is critical to religious order. Hence, as Bruce Lincoln showed in the case of Catholic religious corpses thrown out in the streets in Spain during the 1930s, displacement and exposure "demonstrate dramatically and in public the *powerlessness* of the image," and they trigger a new religious epoch through the perversion of the old.[52]

The destruction of the Serapeum (392) itself unrolled from the public exposure and humiliation of sacred images, when bishop Theophilus "paraded around publicly with the objects… [and] exposed them to laughter, ordering the (sacred) phalluses to be carried through the marketplace."[53] But such loaded rites of exposure and humiliation may have become a technique of Alexandrian bishops much earlier in the fourth century. Eusebius regarded the exposure of sacred images as an imperial innovation—a new sort of public spectacle:

> the sacred bronze figures, of which the error of the ancients had for a long time been proud, [Constantine] displayed to all the public in all the squares of the Emperor's city, so that in one place the Pythian was displayed as a contemptible spectacle to the viewers, in another the Sminthian, in the Hippodrome itself the tripods from Delphi, and the Muses of Helicon at the palace.… [—] the Emperor used these very toys for the laughter and amusement of the spectators.… [Indeed, he sent agents around the Empire] ordering the consecrated officials themselves to bring out their gods with much mockery and contempt from their dark recesses into daylight, and then depriving them of their fine appearance and revealing to every eye the ugliness that lay within the superficially applied beauty.[54]

Thus the crusade against heathenism through displacement and exposure of sacred images became assimilated to the art of civic spectacle. The mocking processions demonstrated the bishops' facility in ritual innovation and their authority over "what goes where" in civic space.

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[52] Lincoln 1989, 103–127 (quotation, p. 120).

[53] Socr. *h. e.* 5.16; cf. Socr. *h. e.* 3.2 (for 363 c.e.). On these procedures see Thelamon 1981, 254–255.

[54] Eus. *v. Const.* 3.54.2–3, 6 (trans. Cameron – Hall 1999, 143–144). See discussion in Caseau 2001, 108–110.

Another type of iconoclastic act that recurs in these examples is *violent destruction*: the public burning of images in Atripe, Menouthis, and Hermopolis; the smashing of stone images in Atripe and Alexandria, sometimes carried out over a series of public spaces; the drowning of image fragments; the provocative decapitation of a sacred falcon in the temple of Philae; and certainly the mutilation of temple reliefs, still visible throughout Egypt.[55]

The most violent and drawn-out of these acts of demolition not only repeat what Roman mobs had done to statues under the Principate but also, as noted in part II above, correspond to patterns in image-destruction throughout history.[56] For the fourth-century intellectual-pagan observer Eunapius, the sustained demolitions that soldiers under Theophilus were waging against temple paraphernalia in Alexandria and its suburb Canopus amounted to some kind of war—repudiating traditional piety not through philosophical argument but through attacking stone and brick.[57] For less pantheistic observers in Egyptian villages, like those Zachariah describes in Menouthis, the public smashing of secret holy things was altogether cataclysmic: practically a martyrdom of images.[58] For more convinced or fanatical Christians, however, the rites of demolition served as a physical means to engage the lingering demons in battle—to imagine, hopefully, their elimination.

The meticulous mutilation of temple reliefs may itself have been a component of monks' ascetic struggles, as we might infer from the case of Apa Anoub in the *Sayings of the Fathers*. Anoub spent his days throwing stones at the face of an ancient statue and then—to demonstrate to his brethren the statue's impassivity—asked its forgiveness each night.[59] In fact, such systematic gestures to "kill" or neutralize images are not only reported cross-culturally but also have considerable antiquity in Egypt. What Muslims and Protestant Christians were doing to iconic

[55] On the extension of iconoclastic acts over a series of public spaces, see Rufin. *hist.* 2.23, with Thelamon 1981, 255–256.

[56] Stewart 1999, esp. 164–166.

[57] Eun. *v. soph.* 472.

[58] The situation might not be unlike what happened in the Guatemalan Maya village of Cotzal in the early 1980s, as described to me by the art historian Anna Blume: after an iconoclastic military rampage, villagers encountering the exposed and mutilated images of their saints wrapped them carefully and carried them back into the church, never repairing the saints' injuries as witness to their suffering (personal communication, 18 September 2002; cf. Blume 1997).

[59] *Apophth. Patr.* (alph.) Anoub. Cf. Festugière 1961, 23–39; Brakke (in this volume); and in general, Brakke 2006, 216–226.

eyes and heads at various crisis-points in their debates over images, Egyptians had done to hieroglyphs and statuary since the Middle Kingdom.[60] The point here is not the monks' adherence to timeless tradition but, as in mobs' destruction of urban statuary, the possibility of *habitus*—habit-memory—in a culture's handling of repugnant images.[61] And clearly monks were only one constituency participating in these extremes of iconoclasm, along with soldiers, confraternities, and even villagers. In general, depending on the group involved, the act might signify prolonged spiritual conflict with the demonic, or neutralization of the image's power, or the erasure of demonic presence, or the demonstration of an image's emptiness, or—with mob iconoclasm—an enthusiastic engagement with a new religious order through eliminating the old.[62]

Finally, the literary reports reflect a variety of *verbal* acts of image-neutralization: declarations, such as *Heis Theos* or "you are only wood [or clay, or stone]"; or else liturgical speech, like the use of psalms or traditional curse-prayers to repudiate the demonic essences of heathen images. We might of course ask, given the literary contexts in which these verbal acts are described, are these uses of biblical anti-idolatry language not simply hagiographical devices with no historical basis? Certainly the literary *representations* of such speech-acts have literary functions, reflecting the authors' respect for biblical models. But they also reflect ideas about verbal exorcistic power that were shared across the worlds of monks and Christian leaders, and rooted in Jewish and Egyptian notions of verbal efficacy.[63] We know from both sermons and spells that scripture and liturgy in late antique Christianity were constantly directed to combat demons in air, body, and environment, and that prayer was imagined as projecting *illocutionary* force against

[60] On "apotropaic mutilation," see Trexler 1980, 118–128; Freedberg 1989, 415–416; and Flood 2002, esp. 645–648. On apotropaic mutilation in Egyptian religious/graphic tradition, see Lacau 1913; Ritner 1993, 157, 164–165; and on its continuity in Roman times, Sauneron 1952. A trove of deliberately dismembered images of kings has been found in Kerma (*Egyptian Archaeology* 22 [2003], 20).

[61] The terminology is drawn from Bourdieu 1977, esp. 81–83, and Connerton 1989. On similar concepts of a sustained vocabulary of gesture in late antique iconoclasm, see Stewart 1999, 177–180. See the application to religious gesture and interpretation of power surrounding Egyptian holy men in Frankfurter 2003 and 2006.

[62] Frankfurter 1998, 280–282 and Caseau 2001, 107–121.

[63] See Frankfurter 1995.

animals, demons, and other enemies.[64] It does not strike me as arbitrary to assume that monks, priests, deacons, and confraternities had a repertoire of such verbal acts, from psalms to slogans, with which they could attack and neutralize heathen images—or at least protect *themselves* from these images.[65]

IV. Penetrating Sanctuaries, Purifying Structures

Temples as well continued to hold meaning for villagers, even when they were in decline. If in flourishing times a temple represented the house of the god, buzzing with priestly incantations and oracles, the axis of the cosmos and the source of all practical and beneficial power, as Libanius describes, in the fourth and later centuries they signified marked spaces whence a god might still speak, as in Abydos in the fourth century (during the zenith of the Bes oracle there) or where a god might still dwell in ambivalent, demonic form, such as Bes appeared to Apa Moses in Abydos still in the late fifth century.[66] Temples were also closed spaces, traditionally restricted to "pure" priests and, apart from some sections devoted to oracular incubation, not open to villagers.

In Coptic hagiography the notion of a temple as a god's residence is understood: the "demon who dwells in Kothos the idol," according to the *Panegyric on Macarius*, threatens to "leave this very place and you will never find me";[67] the priests of the god "Apollo" in Abydos, whom Apa Moses eventually kills, "claimed that their gods came to them inside their own temples."[68]

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[64] See Burton-Christie 1993, 123–126, and on Athanasius's (*ep. Marcell.*) and Evagrius Ponticus's (*Antirrhetikos*) advice on the apotropaic use of psalms, see Brakke 2006, 48–77, 231–233. On sermons and spells that reflect verbal exorcistic power, see Kalleres 2002; Frankfurter 1993, 127–140; Shenoute, *Because of You Too, O Prince of Evil* (ed. Du Bourguet 1961–1962 [White Monastery codex XH], on which see Van der Vliet 1992). Coptic protective spells: see Meyer – Smith 1994, 61–71, 132, 134.8–11, 135.1–14. On "illocutionary" aspects of verbal declaration, see above, n. 29.

[65] On confraternities' familiarity with liturgical speech, see Wipszycka 1970, 514.

[66] On the Bes oracle of Abydos see Dunand 1997 and Frankfurter 1998, 124–131, 169–174. Cf. *Synax. Copt.* 13 Hatūr: Apa Yousab finds "a temple of idols where there were numerous demons," next to which he is instructed to build a church; an angel subsequently chases them out (p. 209, Basset [PO 3.3:285]).

[67] †ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲛⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲧⲙ̄ⲯⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ (*Pan. Mac. Antae.* 5.4 [ed. Johnson 1980, 1:31]).

[68] ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ…ⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲑⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲣⲡⲉ (*Life of Moses of Abydos* [ed. Amélineau 1888–1895, 686–687]).

Even after they were abandoned, temple structures seem to have carried a lingering charisma as functional *centers* in the landscape, if not as actual sacred places. We see this lingering charisma not only in the potent sand that pilgrims gouged from temple walls from antiquity through today.[69] Throughout Egypt—Philae, Karnak, Dendarah—over the fifth and sixth centuries, Christians also developed *liturgical* and *healing* structures inside or beside temples.[70] Even the seventh-century installation of monastic centers in or near ancient temples, it has been argued, exploited the temple-structures' local charisma for the cult of the founder.[71]

Shenoute himself offers an unusually direct look at this spatial Christianization process in a sermon given at the inauguration of a church inside a temple: "At the site of a shrine to an unclean spirit," he announces, "it will henceforth be a shrine to the Holy Spirit. And at the site of sacrificing to Satan and worshipping and fearing him, Christ will henceforth be served there." And where noxious hieroglyphic spells fill the walls, now "it is the soul-saving scriptures of life that will henceforth come to be in there . . . and His son Jesus Christ and all His angels, righteous men and saints" will be portrayed on the walls.[72]

The defunct temple's walls truly radiated demonic power, which is now (Shenoute assures us) neutralized through liturgy and Christian icons. But, we might ask, what specifically led up to this kind of conversion of sacred space? What actions preceded the gouging of crosses, the painting of Christian icons, and the furnishing of altars that we find in many such temple-churches? In the memory—or at least the tradition—of hagiographers, the critical act in purging the heathen temple is *invasion*: that is, the penetration of a space hitherto set off completely from popular culture, where only priests could go and from which the god occasionally spoke.

The *Panegyric on Macarius* is quite vivid on this score: first, the text outlines the atrocities that local Christians believe take place inside the temple, highlighting the disjunction between public space and temple space (5.2). Macarius tries to enter to investigate these crimes: "As the

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[69] Traunecker 1987; Raven 1999, 90–91.

[70] Cf. Jullien 1902 and Thelamon 1981, 264–272, with regard to Eun. *v. soph.* 472–473.

[71] Boutros – Décobert 2000, 82–83, 86–91.

[72] Shenoute, *Acephalous work A6* (White Monastery codex TY = Michigan ms. 158.13; ed./trans. Young 1981, 353–354).

Lord lives," he declares, "(even) if they kill me I shall not stop without *going inside*" (5.3). But the god's voice—some sort of oracle, it appears—calls the peasantry to defend the temple (5.5). When Macarius and three other monks get partly inside, they are caught, bound, and—in a caricature of Egyptian cult—prepared for human sacrifice (5.6–7). But just in the nick of time the monk Besa arrives and magically opens the temple doors to rescue Macarius (5.8).[73] Finally, reminiscent of Elijah, they invoke fire to come down from heaven and burn the temple (5.9–10); and they throw the high priest onto a bonfire too.

Zachariah's story of the Menouthis cult likewise focuses on the heroes' (*philoponoi* and monks') daring penetration of a temple's very *sanctum sanctorum*, subsequent to the removal and exposure of the images described earlier.[74] In the story of Moses of Abydos, eight senior monks spend the night inside the temple of Bes, uttering exorcistic prayers while the ground shakes and demonic screams and galloping horses are heard around them: the exertions of the demon Bes. Although the manuscripts lack a conclusion here, it seems that the monks' resilience in the temple and the power of their prayers together cast Bes out. Thus purification and its corollary, exorcism, involve first and foremost monks' invasion of, even residence in, heathen sacred space.

The struggles of Apa Moses, of course, amount to an ideal rather than eyewitness scenario. However, this process of *invasion/residence/exorcism* is probably more than a literary trope, for it resembles the monastic appropriation of ancient tombs for use as cells. There was certainly a measure of convenience involved in taking over tombs. But the stories preserved of demonic onslaught inside tombs, taken together with the apotropaic crosses found etched or painted in tombs, suggest that appropriating a tomb for contemplative space did historically involve historical rites of exorcism, purification, and resilience in the face of perceived demonic threat.[75] In the *apophthegma* of Apa Anoub mentioned earlier, monks inhabiting a temple in Terenouthis must cope with the

[73] This narrative detail recalls a rumor surrounding Shenoute's invasion of Gesios's house: *V. Sin.* 126 and Shenoute's more first-hand responses to the rumor in *Let Our Eyes* (trans. Emmel 2002, 104–105; see also Emmel in this volume).

[74] Zach. Mit. *v. Sev.* (pp. 27–28, Kugener).

[75] Badawy 1953, esp. 75; Boud'hors – Heurtel 2002. E.g., Apa Pisentius: *Vita Pisentii* (ed. Budge 1913, 326–330); Apa Elias, in *Synax. Copt.* 17 Kiyahk (pp. 403, 406, Basset [PO 3.3:479, 482]); Apa Hadra, in *Synax. Copt.* 3 Amšīr (pp. 749–751, Basset [PO 11.5:783–785]); *Apophth. Patr.* (alph.) Macarius 13, which must refer to a tomb rather than a temple, given the presence of mummies (cf. Brakke in this volume, at n. 22).

potentially living force of the statues inside: Anoub alternately defaces and implores one statue.[76]

So also with temples: Apa Moses's exorcism of the Abydos Bes temple—probably the structure called the Osireion—was actually a component in a process first of neutralizing and then of reusing a "marked" sacred place. Crosses, ships, and images of martyrs painted on the walls of the Osireion during the subsequent Christian stage all point to the temple's appropriation for Christian purposes: a convent of nuns whom Apa Moses himself advised.[77] Abydos is unique in bearing documentation of continued religious importance from ancient through Christian eras. But the Moses story also bears witness to an ancient idea that even those temples that had stood abandoned for a century or more still held an ambivalent supernatural power, which had to be neutralized somehow before being turned into a church.[78]

The act of invasion and purification did not necessarily involve such a conversion of ritual space. Shenoute himself seems to have engaged in such invasions also as a form of provocation.[79] Invading Gesios's house at night with but a few monks to steal his cache of images shows that this act was first and foremost against Gesios himself—to prove him a heathen.[80] So too, Shenoute's journey to the village of Plewit to destroy its temple images suggests not so much a crusade to Christianize Plewit as a dare to the heathens to try to prevent his invasion of their temple.[81] Like Macarius of Tkōou, whose attempt to invade the temple of Kothos is halted by armed villagers, Shenoute is here met on the road to Plewit with magical binding spells that stop his donkey; but

[76] *Apophth. Patr.* (alph.) Anoub.

[77] Murray 1904, 38–43; Piankoff 1958–1960; Coquin 1986; Coquin 1991. See also depictions of Apa Moses's subsequent authority in Ten Hacken 1999.

[78] On functions of graffiti in two small "converted" temples in the Dodechaschoenus, see Raven 1999, 84–88; Blackman 1911, pl. 104; Monnet-Saleh 1969, 12–13; and Aldred 1978, 52, 57–59. In general on use of crosses and graffiti to Christianize, see Thelamon 1981, 267–272.

[79] Legends of Moses and of Macarius of Tkōou refer explicitly to Shenoute and Besa, suggesting the copyists' origins in Shenoute's monastery. See Orlandi 2002, 220.

[80] See above, n. 38.

[81] *V. Sin.* 83–84. Curiously, we hear nothing more about Plewit's local cults or its conversion until a shrine to St. Colluthus is inaugurated there in the sixth century: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, ms. Copte 129[16] f. 76r, and Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Papyrussammlung, Vienna, ms. K 9524 (Coptic pp. 69–70) (ed. Till 1935–1936, 1:169, 173). See Crum 1929–1930, 326. The encomium is credibly attributed to Phoebammon, bishop of Akhmim, during Patriarch Theodosius's exile (mid-VI). On the location of Plewit, see Sauneron 1983, 104–107.

once these are discovered and reversed against the villagers, Shenoute can go on his way unopposed. These Christian crusaders' main goal is to penetrate taboo space.

All these hagiographical texts emphasize various dimensions of conflict with Egyptian religion: whether in the wake of the destruction of the Serapeum or out of some kind of competition—like rival healing cults.[82] Macedonius, Moses, and Macarius are imagined as having launched their crusades in order to protect Christian villagers from the demonic dangers of the lingering Egyptian cults, like predatory human sacrifice in the case of the cult of Kothos.[83] Violence and iconoclasm, in the hagiographers' minds, follow the aggravation of tensions between Christians and traditionalists; and what aggravates those tensions seems to be a discourse of persecution and demonology. It is instructive to note by comparison that recent Christian purges against African traditional religion have arisen out of a similar discourse. In modern Ghana and Congo, for example, traditional religious practices and practitioners have been attacked not just as "heathen" but more specifically as Satanic threats to Christian safety.[84] An amorphous or isolated conflict among villagers can thus be magnified—through rumor, church-leadership, or retrospective hagiography—into vengeance for atrocities and full-scale battle between good and evil.

In late antique Egypt too, destructive crusades seem in some areas to have followed such minor or distant conflicts. For example, many internal political tensions led Peter Mongos to propel the crusade of monks and *philoponoi* on Menouthis. Shenoute, who says explicitly that he destroyed the temple of Atripe, may have been inspired by the destruction of the Serapeum—seeing it as the dawn of a new epoch. I suspect that the murkier stories of Apa Moses's exorcism and destruction of temples in Abydos—during which the writer credits him with killing thirty priests—and Macarius's burning of the temple of Kothos

[82] Shenoute inspired by Serapeum demolition: Emmel 2002, 112–113 (cf. Emmel in this volume, at n. 14). Rival healing cults: Montserrat 1998.

[83] E.g., Paphn. *h. mon.* 29: a simple Christian complains to Governor Macedonius, "We who live in this town are badly mistreated by those who worship idols [ⲥⲉϫⲏ ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ⲟ̅ⲛ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ † ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲣ̅ⲕ̅ⲱ̅ⲙ̅ⲱ̅ⲉⲑⲉⲓⲁⲱⲗⲟⲛ]" (ed. Budge 1915, 444, standardized; trans. Vivian 1993, 86). Images of late heathen persecution of Christians are obviously retrospective, sometimes from centuries later, but they probably maintain ancient (fourth/fifth-century) attitudes toward Egyptian cult and traditional devotees as not simply strange but intrinsically persecuting.

[84] Meyer 1999; Douglas 1999; Walsh 2002.

also recall the historical aggravation of tensions between Christians and traditionalists in a local context.[85] But it is difficult to reconstruct anything more precise from these kinds of data.

V. Conclusions

This paper has had three related goals: first, to frame images and temples as meaningful elements of the traditional religious landscape still in late antique Egypt; second, to derive from hagiography some insight into the ideological and religious attitudes involved in iconoclastic acts such as archaeology shows to have occurred; third, to outline the main types of iconoclastic acts reflected both in Christian sources and in archaeology. For *images* these acts included exposure, mutilation and destruction, and verbal assault. For *temples* the central act was invasion, followed then by verbal or physical iconoclastic acts as well.

Iconoclastic acts were not exclusive to monks, a link Libanius promoted with his picture of "black-robed hordes" (*or.* 30), but also the work of fanatic confraternities like the *philoponoi*, soldiers, even sometimes villagers.[86] And apart from the work of some idiosyncratic holy men like Shenoute of Atripe (and perhaps the legendary Apollo of Hermopolis and Macedonius of Philae), these acts often occurred under the direction of bishops, who demonstrated their authority over space and community by developing iconoclastic "spectacles," as in Alexandria, for everyone's participation.[87] To be sure, monks might often have been used as shock troops in the invasion and neutralization of rural temples, but many forces had hands in the overall destruction of Egyptian religion and its infrastructure.

A comparative approach to these materials helps us to decipher the ideology behind these acts as neutralization, purification, and exorcism, chasing the demonic from the landscape. "Woe unto me," complains the Devil in the *Life of Moses of Abydos*, "for I have been cast out of every place, even this house [Abydos] that was left for me. See how

[85] See Frankfurter 2000, 285–294.

[86] On the character of Libanius's accusations see Brown 1995, 50–51. On the interaction of various constituencies in destruction, see Thelamon 1981, 255–257.

[87] On the central role of bishops in launching iconoclastic crusades, see Fowden 1978 and Brown 1992, 89–117. Nor in pre-Constantinian times were attacks on statues the spontaneous expressions of loose mobs, but likewise directed by elite authorities: Stewart 1999, 163–164. In general see Caseau 2001, 91–97.

I have been thrown out of it and left outside like a beggar. In Shmin Shenoute threw me out. He took away my temples and converted them into churches. Even my pagan children, he took from me. And he was not satisfied with this, but chased me out of the region."[88] And absent Satan, the idea goes, Christendom might be established in the very outposts that struck villagers as impermeable to Christian influence—not unlike the sacred trees that saints in medieval Europe were famous for chopping down. (In fact, with the inevitable preservation of landscape, folk traditions, and religious habit-memory, the resulting Christianity was ultimately a product of assimilation and local negotiation, in which even the older spirits might be preserved.)[89]

If the crushed and mutilated images uncovered by archaeologists offer the study of iconoclasm only an anonymous anger and determination, hagiography provides important glimpses into this ideology of purification. Hagiography, it is clear, has its grave drawbacks in terms of historical documentation, since it inevitably serves pedagogy, entertainment, and *etiology*—when did this monastery begin? why was this saint heroic?—which purposes require only general credibility to a later Coptic audience. But this paper has not demanded more of these sources than the recollection of attitudes and some isolated *traditions* of destructive acts now hedged around with fictional elements. Their reliability—that we should credit these traditions with historicity—emerges in correspondence with more first-hand materials like Shenoute, Besa, and Zachariah. But as an essay in religious studies rather than history, this paper does not ask these isolated traditions to substantiate chronology or biography. My interest has been in the varieties of destructive ritual action during a period of cultural "conversion." This larger picture of ritual action can only be substantiated through a diversity of evidence, from the historically immediate sermons of Shenoute or the graffiti visible in temples to the only distantly historical legends of certain monks. To comprehend the ideology of destruction and neutralization requires this full range of materials.

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[88] ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲓⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲟ̄ⲭ̄ⲧ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲉϩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲱⲱ̄ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲓ· ⲉⲓⲥϩⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲭ̄ⲧ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲉⲓⲙ̄ⲏ̄ⲭ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲃⲏ̄ⲛ·:—ϩⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲱⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲛ]ⲟ̣ⲭ̄ⲧ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲁⲥⲥⲓ ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲁⲥⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ· ⲛⲁⲕⲉⲱⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛ ⲁⲥ‹ⲥ›[ⲓ]ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥϩⲱ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲥⲇⲓⲱⲕⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ (ed. Till 1935–1936, 2:50–51, trans. Moussa 1998, 34).

[89] See Frankfurter 1998, 27–33, 267–277, and Frankfurter 2003.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SHENOUTE OF ATRIPE AND THE CHRISTIAN DESTRUCTION OF TEMPLES IN EGYPT: RHETORIC AND REALITY

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Depending to some extent, of course, on just how one defines the term "destruction," the list of cases of "temple-destruction" that we know of in Egypt is remarkably short, and only very few of these cases are at all well documented. But there is one item in the list of relevant evidence that looms larger than most of the rest: the works of Shenoute provide us with a relatively thick dossier of evidence that is directly relevant to the theme of this volume, and one of his works in particular is of extraordinary interest in this regard. Since this work has not been published up until now (see the appendix to this chapter) and largely unknown, I assume that it will be entirely new to any readers who do not already know a paper that I read in Leiden in 1998, "From the Other Side of the Nile: Shenute and Panopolis,"[1] and even for those who *do* know that article it might still be news that in May 2002 I happened upon a third manuscript of this work, more complete than the two that I knew before, and this new manuscript adds some extraordinarily interesting new information to the dossier on Shenoute and his crypto-pagan archenemy Gesios.[2]

But let me first sketch in some of the background against which the new information has to be understood. Shenoute was the charismatic leader of a large monastery in Upper Egypt from 385 until his death in 465. His extensive corpus of writings includes a number of works that

[1] Emmel 2002. Since the delivery and publication of that paper, I have reverted to my preference for the spelling Shenoute rather than Shenute (Coptic ϣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ). A recent study of Shenoute's anti-pagan activities by an ancient historian is Hahn 2004, 222–269 (unfortunately, this important study suffers from having been written over a decade ago [see p. 8], and from the most recent work on Shenoute not having been fully incorporated into the analysis), especially pp. 240–242 and 254–257.

[2] Also known as Kesios and (Flavius Aelius) Gessius, or Gessios.

refer to violent actions taken against pagan worship in the surrounding area, in particular in a village called Atripe (a little south of modern Sohag), and in Panopolis (Coptic Šmin, modern Akhmim), the local metropolis, on the eastern bank of the Nile, opposite Shenoute's monastery. The references in Shenoute's own writings to anti-pagan activities can be supplemented with several related stories from the encomiastic tradition about Shenoute, that is, the literary tradition that culminated in the work now generally known as the *Vita Sinuthii*, the "Life of Shenoute" that survives in Coptic (completely only in the Bohairic dialect) as well as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Syriac.[3]

In my previous paper on the present topic (which I will refer to here for simple convenience as "my Leiden paper"), I sketched out a hypothetical chronology for Shenoute's anti-pagan activities, and I take the liberty of quoting myself as a basis for the present continuation of that investigation:

> There is still much work to be done with regard to the details and chronology of Shenute's anti-pagan activities, especially when so much relevant material is not yet adequately published or studied, but probably we will not be too far wrong if we place their beginning (probably the cleansing by fire of the temple in Atripe) soon after news of the destruction of the Serapeum in 391 [or 392] reached Panopolis, that is, well within the first decade of Shenute's tenure as head of his monastery; their middle (the persecution and exposure of Gesios) around 400, when the first wave of imperial encouragement of and support for pagan-bashing was at its peak; and their end (confiscation of pagan cult objects in nearby villages) around 420, when the wave had already crested and was receding.[4]

One piece of the evidence for the relative order of this chronology is Shenoute's own brief listing of his activities, a kind of *curriculum vitae* pertaining to his most violent acts outside the monastery—although presented precisely in order to claim that he nonetheless avoided disorder (Coptic ⲁⲧⲁϫⲓⲁ and ⲯⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ):

> For I have done nothing in a disorderly fashion (ϩⲛⲟⲩⲯⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ): neither the time we burned the pagan temple in Atripe; nor the time we went with the Christians who were taken before the judge in Hermopolis and Antinoopolis when the priests lodged a complaint against them because

[3] The so-called "Life of Shenoute" and its traditional attribution to Besa, Shenoute's successor as head of his monastery, have been fundamentally reexamined by Lubomierski 2005 (cf. her preliminary reports, Lubomierski 2006 and 2007).

[4] Emmel 2002, 113. On the date of the destruction of the Serapeum, see Hahn's contribution to this volume on the topic, and also Hahn 2006.

> of the other (?) temple that they had destroyed in their own village. Or again: how many men besides seven monks did I take with me the day I removed the idols from that man's private chamber?[5]

Just here, unfortunately, the only manuscript that we have of this passage breaks off, so that we do not know how the list goes on, if it did go on (the manuscript is a lectionary containing excerpts from some of Shenoute's works).[6] The context in which Shenoute makes the claim that he did not commit these acts in a disorderly fashion indicates that the work from which this lection was excerpted was written at a time when Shenoute was in some kind of trouble with the provincial authorities over an accusation that he was "assembling a mob around himself." Such an accusation must have meant more than that the number of monks in Shenoute's institution was growing noticeably. I believe it must have been an accusation that Shenoute's purpose in nurturing such an institution was criminal, perhaps seditious.[7] Hence Shenoute introduces his list of non-disorderly disorderly activities with the question, "When have I ever assembled a mob around myself or walked at the head of a mob and conducted myself in a disorderly fashion (ϵⲓⲣϵ ⲛ̄ϩϵⲛϩⲃⲏϒϵ ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲭⲓⲁ), even when it had to do with the worship of God?"[8]—by which I understand him to mean the *proper* worship of God, that is, even when it had to do with actions taken against pagan worship. Hence there is reason to believe that the immediately following list is in some sense a complete list of Shenoute's most notorious anti-pagan activities. Let us take the items in this list, so far as it survives, individually and in order.

The first of the three surviving items is "the time we burned the pagan temple in Atripe" (ⲙⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲙⲡⲣⲡϵ ⲛⲣϵϥⲱⲙⲱϵϵⲓⲇⲱ̣ⲗ̣ⲟⲛ ϵⲧϩⲛⲁⲧⲣⲓⲡϵ).[9] Shenoute mentions this same event explicitly in at least one other work of his, where he mentions "the temple of Atripe" (ⲡϵⲣⲡϵ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲣⲓⲡϵ) and says, "We burned that place of idols with fire

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[5] Coptic text in Leipoldt 1906–1913, 3:91:19–92:3, collated (cf. Emmel 2002, 105 n. 49); "private chamber" (κοιτωη/κοιτών) could also be translated as "bedroom."

[6] White Monastery codex DD, pp. 223–224. The lection under discussion might have run from the top of p. 221 to the middle of p. 237, but pp. 221–222 and 225–236 of the codex are wanting. See Emmel 2004, 2:362–368.

[7] On this topic in detail, see Emmel forthcoming, and in general, see Hahn 2004, 254–260.

[8] Leipoldt 1906–1913, 3:91:16–19.

[9] The Coptic phrase that I have translated as "pagan" is literally an adjectival use of the expression for "idol-worshipper."

along with everything that was in it" (ⲁⲛⲣⲱⲕϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲱϩⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲯⲟⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̄),[10] from which we learn that Shenoute, probably in company, but perhaps alone (we need not take Shenoute's use of the first-person plural too literally), burned a temple in Atripe along with its contents. "Burned with fire"—that would be the usual "purifying fire that drives out demons."[11] From another text, the one presented below, where there is a probable, although not explicit, reference to this temple in Atripe, we learn the additional detail that the contents of the temple included idols, which Shenoute broke into pieces before lighting the fire: "We smashed them (the idols) in the temple that we burned along with everything inside it" (ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲥⲡⲟⲩ ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲣⲟⲕϩⲥ̄ⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ).[12] The phrasing here, "the temple that we burned," as well as the use to which Shenoute put his recollection of this event years later (more on which below), suggests to me that there might only ever have been one such temple that Shenoute himself purified by fire. But unfortunately, at present we know no more about it than what I have just reported. We do not even know what temple it was, although it seems reasonable to suppose that it was the largest of the three temples that we know existed in Atripe in the fourth century, namely the temple of the local goddess, Triphis.[13] As for when this event took place, a secure *terminus post quem* is provided only by Shenoute's birth (most probably in the late 340s) plus however many years we think he needed to become mature enough to engage in an undertaking such as burning a temple. By the way, I see nothing that compels us to assume that he was already a monk. On the other hand, we are naturally inclined to suppose not only that he was a monk at the time, but even that he was a monastic leader, in which case we would be inclined to move our *terminus post quem* down to the second half of the 380s. In my Leiden paper I suggested that we would not be too far wrong if we placed the burning of the temple in Atripe soon after the attack on the Serapeum in Alexandria, but probably it is safer to take that event, in the year 392, simply as an approximate *terminus ante quem*, on the assumption that if Shenoute had not already attacked the

[10] Behlmer 1996, 91–92 (Coptic pp. 113:ii.26–27 and 114:i.14–19, corrected slightly at 114:i.14 according to the photograph on pl. 46).

[11] Deichmann – de Labriolle 1954, 1231: "das reinigende, die Dämonen vertreibende Feuer."

[12] White Monastery codex ZJ, p. 28:ii.21–24 (orthographically improved; see n. 247 below), edited in an appendix below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 2.10).

[13] Behlmer 1996, lxi.

temple in Atripe by then, the news of such things happening elsewhere will surely have spurred him to action in his own district.[14]

The second item in Shenoute's "curriculum vitae"—if I may so call it just for brevity's sake—is "the time we went with the Christians who were taken before the judge in Hermopolis (Coptic Šmoun) and Antinoopolis (Coptic Antinooue) when the priests lodged a complaint against them because of the other (?) temple that they had destroyed in their own village" (ⲡⲉ̣[ⲟ]ⲩ̣ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧ[ⲓⲁ]ⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲍⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲫ ⲙⲡ̣ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲯⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲏⲏⲃ ⲕⲁⲑⲏⲅⲟⲣⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲕⲉⲣⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟⲫ ϩⲱⲟ̣ⲩ ϩⲙⲡⲉⲩ†ⲙⲉ). Insofar as the destruction of temples is concerned, here we learn only that in some village in the jurisdiction of Hermopolis-Antinoopolis—and that would mean (at least up until the 430s) anywhere in the province Thebais, or Upper Egypt from Hermopolis-Antinoopolis southwards—Christians "destroyed" (ⲧⲁⲕⲟ) a local temple and were then taken to court by the priests. The Coptic phrasing (I mean especially Shenoute's use of the words ⲕⲉ and ϩⲱⲟⲩ) indicates to me that he himself was *not* involved in the action against this temple, and it might also suggest that "destroy" here is effectively a synonym for "burn." Shenoute's participation in this case seems to have been limited to playing the role of advocate of some sort for the accused Christians by accompanying them to court in the provincial capital.

One could pursue this last item somewhat further, because it is connected, at least in the encomiastic tradition about Shenoute, with certain events that took place in a village called Pneueit. But the Pneueit affair is a murky matter that would require many pages to explore and clarify, and I think that in the end it would not bring us much farther forward in terms of the immediate interests of this volume, and so I leave it aside for another occasion.[15]

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[14] Cf. Behlmer's observation (1996, lxv): "Es ist allerdings kaum wahrscheinlich, daß Schenutes Tempelzerstörungen [*sic*] nur die letzten Ausläufer einer Welle gebildet haben, die den gesamten Vorderen Orient erfaßt hatte."

[15] See Frankfurter 1998, 68–69, as well as his contribution to this volume (nn. 33–35), and Hahn 2004, 254–257. I have pointed out elsewhere (Emmel 1994, 43 n. 2) that it was only a hypothesis (which I myself am not inclined to accept) that Pneueit was the unnamed village concerned in the work of Shenoute that Leipoldt called *De idolis vici Pneueit II* (incpit *Only I Tell Everyone Who Dwells in this Village*, on which see Emmel 2002, 112 n. 79; 2004, 2:681), and in the present context I should state also that I see no basis for the claim (Leipoldt 1903, 179) that Shenoute destroyed ("zerstörte") a temple in the village to which this work relates, just as also what little evidence we have indicates that he was not directly involved in the temple-destruction in Pneueit either (the so-called "Life of Shenoute" states only that Shenoute "went into the temple,

With the third item in Shenoute's "curriculum vitae" we are on firmer and more productive ground. The first two items, the burning and/or destruction of a temple in Atripe and one in Pneueit (?), constitute what I provisionally define as "phase one" in Shenoute's anti-pagan activities. Phase two, then, is his conflict with wealthy pagan landowners, and especially with one Flavius Aelius Gessius, who had served as governor of Thebais, Shenoute's home province, at the end of the 370s, probably from 376 to 379,[16] that is, under the emperor Valens, as Roger Bagnall has emphasized.[17] In keeping with Bagnall's line of reasoning, it seems safe to assume that Gessius's political career came to an end with the death of Valens at Adrianople in August 378 and the accession of Theodosius five months later, on 19 January 379. It was this man Gessius whom Shenoute meant when he wrote (in item 3 in his "curriculum vitae") that he took only seven monks with him "the day I removed the idols from that man's private chamber" (ⲙⲡ̣[ⲉ]ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲧⲁ̣ⲓⲥⲙⲛ̣ⲓ̣ⲁ̣ⲱ̣ⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟ[ⲗ ϩ]ⲙ̣̄ⲡⲕⲟⲓⲧ̣ⲱⲛ ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲓ̈). And here is where our dossier on Shenoute's activities becomes thick.

We happen to be quite well informed about the incident to which Shenoute makes reference here, thanks especially to one work of his in which he defends himself against the charge that he broke the law when he "removed the idols from that man's private chamber."[18] Although, as I stated at the outset, this work is published for the first time in the

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smashed the idols one upon another, and destroyed them" [ⲁⲥⲧⲁⲕⲱⲟⲩ; Leipoldt 1906–1913, 1:41:22–24, quoted in Coptic by Frankfurter in this volume, n. 34], apparently a different incident from the "destruction" of the temple itself; cf. Emmel 2004, 2:618–619). Furthermore, there is also no basis that I have been able to discover for the claim that Shenoute must "auch *in dem öffentlichen Kronostempel* [in Panopolis] irgend ein Unheil angerichtet haben," whatever it was that Leipoldt (1903, 181, emphasis added) imagined having taken place there (see futher Emmel forthcoming). Once these baseless statements by Leipoldt are eliminated from his exposition of "Schenutes Kampf gegen das Heidentum" (1903, 175–182), only one clearly reported case of temple-destruction—the burning of the temple in Atripe (1903, 178)—remains as the basis for his colorful generalization that Shenoute's hatred for pagans "hat aus ihm die lodernde Flamme erweckt, die einen Göttertempel nach dem anderen einäscherte" (1903, 175; cf. p. 178). Finally, I may note also that this section of Leipoldt's book was the only basis for the following statement by Deichmann (1939, 110 at n. 3): "In Oberägypten sind die Tempelzerstörungen im fünften Jahrhundert noch im vollen Gange." What a picturesque image such a statement evokes! But I doubt very much that there is much truth in it, if any at all.

[16] Emmel 2002, 100–106.

[17] In Bagnall's contribution to this volume.

[18] In the work presented here (and edited and translated below), compare with this clause from Shenoute's "curriculum vitae" codex WW 32:ii.21–25 // ZJ 21:ii.28–31 (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.21): ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲉⲛⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲉⲓⲁⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲓⲧⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲯⲏ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲣⲁϩⲧ "by removing his idols from a private chamber during the night quietly."

present volume, I have already translated and commented upon some of the most relevant sections in my Leiden paper.[19] At that time, the work was acephalous,[20] but the newly discovered manuscript mentioned at the beginning of the present essay provides the beginning of the work and then the continuous text until it overlaps with the first of the two main text fragments that were available previously (namely codex ZJ 21–22). The new manuscript fragment (nine consecutive leaves from a parchment codex) is part of a group of White Monastery fragments[21] that was given to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in 1974 by Pope Paul VI, but was first brought to general scholarly attention only in 2001.[22] The brief description of the fragment published in that year gave no clue to the great interest of the text and even assigned the leaves wrongly to White Monastery codex HD,[23] as I discovered when I was in the Vatican Library for other reasons at the end of May 2002 and was able to examine the new White Monastery fragments briefly for a first time. The incipit on page 26 of the new manuscript,[24] which has been designated White Monastery codex WW,[25] will henceforth serve as the title of this work: *Let Our Eyes* (ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲉⲛⲃⲁⲗ, which is the opening of a quotation—slightly altered by Shenoute—of Prov 4:25, "Let your eyes look directly forward, and your gaze be straight before you").[26]

Shenoute's work *Let Our Eyes* is cast as an open letter to the citizens of Panopolis, in which Shenoute most often addresses the city itself as a whole, as "you" (feminine singular, i.e., ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲥ, "the city of Pan".)[27] Among his actual addressees, Shenoute distinguishes clearly between Christians and pagans and/or heretics: "I do not mean the majority of your citizens, the blessed flock of the good shepherd Christ, but rather I mean those who are alien to the flock."[28] He also states quite

[19] Emmel 2002, 103–108.

[20] See Emmel 1993, 1007 and 1179–1180 (table 132), describing "acephalous work A4" in Shenoute's corpus.

[21] For the meaning of the phrase "White Monastery fragments," see most recently Orlandi 2002; Emmel 2004, 1:18–24.

[22] Proverbio 2001, where the relevant leaves (Vat. Copt. 111 ff. 85–93) are described on pp. 415–416 (no. III [*bis*]); see pp. 409–410 for the fragments' modern history.

[23] See Emmel 2004, 1:330, under "codicological bibliography."

[24] Quoted by Proverbio 2001, 415 (but ⳟⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ should be ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ, ⲉⲓⲱ̄ⲣⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲓ̄ⲧⲙⲉ should be ⲉⲓⲱⲣ̄ⲙ ⲉⲙⲙⲓ̄ⲧⲙⲉ, and ⲡⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲏ should be ⲡⲧⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲏ).

[25] Emmel 2004, 1:329–331 (§ 8.2.7) and 448 (table 30).

[26] See Emmel 2004, 2:672 (§ 14.2.1) and 855 (table 132).

[27] As in, for example, Leipoldt 1906–1913, 3:26:14–15 and 32:2; Amélineau 1907–1914, 1:440:8 (cf. 215:8 †ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ϫⲉⲧⲡⲁⲛⲟⲥ). But see n. 72 below.

[28] WW 29:ii.13–20, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.8).

clearly a few lines later what he understands to be the true underlying issue of his conflict with the citizens who do not belong to the Christian flock: "What is the crime that I have committed because I said, 'Do not be cruel to the poor'?"[29] It is not my purpose here to discuss the socio-economic aspects of Shenoute's conflict with Gesios and his kind, but there can be no doubt that they were real and that they concerned Shenoute deeply for exactly what they were, symptoms of the rich exploiting the poor.[30] But there can also be no doubt that in Shenoute's mind these socio-economic concerns were closely bound up with religious matters. In practically the same breath that he uses to defend his actions as taken in protection of the poor, he goes on to ask: "What is the sin that I have committed, or how was it wrong for me to remove idols from the house of a godless man?"[31] Robbing a pagan of his idols is somehow equivalent to protecting the poor from cruelty and exploitation.

But let us turn, for the moment, from Shenoute's rhetorical moves to the reality of what happened, in so far as we can reconstruct it through the filter of Shenoute's argument. That the idols were removed from a private chamber in the man's house, as Shenoute says in his "curriculum vitae," that is, from a ⲕⲟⲓⲧⲱⲛ/κοιτών ("bedroom"?) is clear from Shenoute's narration of events at several points in *Let Our Eyes*.

> We made an example of him by removing his idols from a private chamber during the night quietly even though the doors protected them securely. . . . It was Jesus who enabled us to open the doors as He wanted. It was also He who led us through the atrium and up the stairway of that house until we came upon those abominations hidden away. And it was He who made straight our entry and our exit. . . . We received neither iron key nor wooden key nor key-ring from any of his people, and we had with us no tool of any sort for opening, but we opened those great doors that were very securely fastened. . . . The door by which we entered the private chamber on the [second storey, where] those [vain] things (the idols) were kept, popped out, [not] because we put our shoulders to it and pushed with force . . . , but when I grasped it, it fell by coming off its hinges, and we carried it away easily. We did not suffer any hurt, and we did not stumble [at all] in that house, which is full of darkness because also the lord of that house is dark.[32]

[29] WW 29:ii.25–28, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.9).

[30] See, for example, Hahn 2004, 237–239; Behlmer 1996, lxxxi–lxxxv; Barns 1964, 154–156.

[31] WW 30:i.6–11, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.10).

[32] ZJ 21:ii.27–32, 22:i.5–17, 27:i.32–ii.8.14–22.24–28:i.4, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.21–24, fr. 2.3–4). My translation here is abbreviated and slightly paraphrastic

That much we knew already from the better preserved of the two previously known manuscripts of *Let Our Eyes*. In my Leiden paper, I also pointed out that in this work we might have the source of the report in the so-called *Vita Sinuthii* 125–126,[33] according to which Shenoute, accompanied by two monks (*sic*, not seven, as Shenoute himself recorded in his "curriculum vitae"),

> went into Panopolis in order to bring the idols out of the house of Gesios at night in secret.…And by the providence of God, they crossed the river and entered the city without any boat or sailor. And the moment they approached the pagans' (*sic*) door, the doors of the house opened one after another until he came to the place where the idols were, and thus he and the brothers with him took them and brought them out to the river and broke them to bits and threw them into the river.[34]

Now the new manuscript in the Vatican library adds some welcome details about what exactly Shenoute and his companions removed from Gesios's private chamber, and what they did with them *before* breaking them to bits and throwing them into the river (if that is really what they did with them in the end).[35] At several points in *Let Our Eyes*, Shenoute describes the idols he found: "the image (ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ/εἰκών) of Kronos and the images of the other demons…the images of priests with shaven heads and altars in their hands";[36] later on, he again singles out "the image of Kronos, along with her who is called Hecate, through whom people are deceived at the oracles";[37] and later still, he singles out "the image of Zeus,"[38] just before the surviving text breaks off for the second and probably last time.[39] These idols are Gesios's "gods," says Shenoute, "whom he worships by lighting a lot of lamps for them, and offering up incense to them on the altars, with what they call *kuphi*, and breaking bread before them."[40]

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for the sake of greater concision and clarity. Compare the more literal translation in Emmel 2002, 104–105.

[33] Ed. Leipoldt 1906–1913, 1:57.

[34] Cf. Emmel 2002, 103–104.

[35] Shenoute himself says nothing about the ultimate fate of the idols; see below.

[36] WW 27:i.11–14.27–ii.3, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.3).

[37] WW 30:i.12–19, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.10).

[38] ZJ 28:ii.32–33, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 2.12).

[39] Probably (as suggested in Emmel 2004, 2:680) the end of *Let Our Eyes* is lost in the lacuna between ZJ 28 and the next surviving page of codex ZJ, which is p. 33.

[40] WW 32:ii.9–19 // ZJ 21:ii.19–27, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.21). Cf. Emmel 2002, 104.

Especially noteworthy in Shenoute's itemizations of what he removed from Gesios's house are the specifically Egyptian objects, such as the statuettes of bald-headed naophoric priests, surviving examples of which are datable from the New Kingdom down through the Ptolemaic period. The example of such a statuette shown in fig. 1 stands about 50 cm tall, and in the altar (naos) in the priest's hands is an image of the Egyptian god Atum. Gesios's naophoric priests, being in Panopolis, Coptic Šmin—the city of "Pan who is Min"[41]—more likely carried altars of the ithyphallic Egyptian god Min, as in the example shown in fig. 2. Shenoute mentions another specifically Egyptian item when he reports that he also found, set in the midst of all the idols, "the ell, the measure of the water's rise" (ⲡⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲡϣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩϫ).[42] This must be the same kind of object as the "Nilometer" (often translated as the "Nile cubit") that the Church historians report was removed from the Serapeum in Alexandria under Constantine for storage in one of the churches in the city.[43] This object—attested, like the naophoric priests, from the New Kingdom down to the Ptolemaic period—represented a standard unit of measure and was stored in the temples in the nome capitals for safekeeping, inscribed with religious wisdom, including information about the heights of past inundations of the Nile.[44] Even more remarkable than the fact that Gesios had one of these "Nile cubits" in his private shrine is Shenoute's remark about it, that the thing that "we bring in gratitude to the holy church has been brought before the likenesses of the demons."[45] Horrifying as it may have been to Shenoute, one senses that he and Gesios were treading some very old common Egyptian ground here.

As for what Shenoute and his companions did with the idols they found, there is no mention in the extant portions of *Let Our Eyes* of any destruction and dumping into the Nile, as reported in the *Vita Sinuthii*, although it is perhaps to be assumed that such did eventually occur. But if so, then before destroying the idols, Shenoute "exposed them openly . . . just as you (pl.) saw them all, each according to its type . . . so as for everyone to recognize his (Gesios's) contempt and his shame, for

[41] See Emmel 1994.

[42] ZJ 28:i.12–13, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 2.5). For other occurences of ⲡⲙⲟⲩϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ, see Budge 1913, 86:2 from below; Budge 1915, 474:17.

[43] See, for example, Martin 1996, 150–151.

[44] Here I am indebted for information to my Münster colleague, Erhart Graefe. For some examples of "Nile cubits," see Gabra 1969; Schwab – Schlott 1972.

[45] ZJ 28:i.13–18, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 2.6). Cf. Geffcken 1929, 158.

them to recognize that he is a liar for having said, 'There are no idols in my house,' when I asked him."[46]

This last remark of Shenoute's brings us to the question of his motivation. This nighttime raid on Gesios's house was the climax of an escalating conflict. We do not know just how the conflict between Shenoute and Gesios began. We can only accept that Gesios was somehow the most prominent representative of his kind, for which reason Shenoute chose to make an example of him, as he says explicitly in *Let Our Eyes* (in the narrative passage quoted above). With the statement that Gesios was a liar "for having said, 'There are no idols in my house,' when I asked him," Shenoute reaches back to an earlier incident in his confrontation with the wealthy landowner, an incident that we know about from what has long been the most famous item in the "Shenoute vs. Gesios dossier," Shenoute's work *Not because a Fox Barks*, translated into English by John Barns in the 1960s,[47] where Shenoute reports that Gesios "sent word to me, saying, 'Come and search my houses; see if you find any idols in them.' When I searched it again…, I did not find any idols in it." This was in the wake of an earlier raid on Gesios's house, described briefly by Shenoute in the same work, during which Shenoute removed idols (which he also calls "gods") by stealth.[48] But apparently whatever Shenoute found on that occasion did not serve his purpose. Otherwise, what reason was there for him to take Gesios up on his offer to let Shenoute search his premises? The only explanation that I can think of is that the "gods" that Shenoute found on his first, unauthorized visit were somehow not seen by others, including Gesios, as being the incriminating "idols" that Shenoute claimed them to be. I have already suggested in my Leiden paper that perhaps Gesios retorted that the statuary removed by Shenoute was merely a collection of *objets d'art*.[49] That this was indeed somehow the case seems to be shown by Shenoute's newly recovered statement in *Let Our Eyes*—when he first begins to describe Gesios's idols as "the image of Kronos and the images

[46] WW 33:i.22–ii.4 // ZJ 22:i.17–25, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.25 and 1.3). Cf. Emmel 2002, 104. WW offers the reading ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲕⲭⲓⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲭⲟⲟⲥ against ZJ's ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲕⲭⲓⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ· ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲭⲟⲟⲥ.

[47] Barns 1964; cf. Emmel 2002, 106–108.

[48] See the Coptic text in Leipoldt 1906–1913, 3:79:18 and 81:27–28.

[49] Emmel 2002, 107 n. 58. Cf. Deichmann – de Labriolle 1954, 1230: "Doch werden nicht überall die Eidola vernichtet; für gebildete Christen sind die gereinigten Eidola als 'Werke großer Künstler überaus schöne Zierden (ornamenta) des Vaterlandes' (Prudent. c. Symm. 1,501/5)" etc.

of the other demons"—that Gesios did not "content himself with the images of effeminate men and lewd and licentious women, whose activities are shameful to speak of."[50] I submit that Shenoute refers here to the "gods" that he had found earlier, probably statues of classical gods and goddesses, for example such divinities as Hermes and Aphrodite, represented in classical style—art objects, lewd and offensive in Shenoute's sight, but not clearly the objects of pagan worship.[51] In any case, Shenoute's purpose was only finally served when he got hold of obviously demonic images, such as Kronos,[52] and statues of bald-headed priests carrying images of some old Egyptian god such as Min.

So Shenoute had set out on his midnight raid in order to prove that Gesios had been lying when he claimed that there were no idols in his house. One of the main purposes of my previous paper on this topic was to demonstrate that Gesios probably was not a prominent and outspoken pagan as we had all thought—in line with a century of previous scholarship—but rather that he was most likely a "crypto-pagan."[53] The details of the conflict between Shenoute and Gesios make sense only in the light of some such hypothesis. I have already argued that, for whatever reason, Gesios was making himself out to be a Christian, and Shenoute, convinced that he was in fact not really a Christian, was trying to expose his deceit and thereby bring him down—him and his cruel socio-economic policies (and perhaps his further political ambitions). I made it clear in my Leiden paper that this hypothesis was in need of further testing against all the relevant sources, and in any case many questions remain unanswered. Why was Gesios playing the Christian? (Was he following political fashion? Was he feeling the pressure brought to bear by Shenoute? Was he worried about the legality of pagan worship?) What made Shenoute so sure that Gesios was dissimulating? What *was*

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[50] WW 27:i.14–22, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.3).

[51] Another possibility, suggested to me by Mr. Christian Bayer (during the seminar mentioned in n. 87 below), is that what Shenoute found to begin with were lewd and grotesque Greco-Roman terra-cotta statuettes that might still have been typical features of household decoration in late antiquity. For an excellent selection of examples, see Ewigleben – von Grumbkow 1991, esp. figs. 7–11, 14, 17, 21–22, etc. ("effeminate" Harpokrates with his penis exposed and sometimes grotesquely enlarged); figs. 43–44, 58, 64–66, etc. (naked female figures); and figs. 59–63, 104–108 (ithyphallic male figures); etc.

[52] On the identity of Kronos, see now Aufrère 2005. It seems that the iconography of this god is not yet well known.

[53] Emmel 2002, 108–111.

Gesios in fact? How should we imagine and describe him apart from Shenoute's characterization of him?

Crucial for framing any set of answers to these and other such questions is to understand the public conversation between Shenoute and Gesios that occurred, according to Shenoute's report, in his monastery church on some occasion when Gesios—apparently of his own accord—paid a public visit to Shenoute accompanied by a group of his own people.[54] It was already clear enough to me previously that this conversation was a confrontation in which Gesios was trying to persuade Shenoute that he had given up some former error, which Shenoute, at least, linked with paganism. Those who already know the passage from my Leiden paper[55] will recall Shenoute's opening salvo: "Have you come to us with the mind of Christ, or with the mind of Kronos?" and Gesios's apologetic statement during the subsequent exchange, "I was young in those days." In my Leiden paper, I proposed to understand this statement as revealing Gesios's acknowledgement of his former adherence to pagan beliefs and practices, which he was claiming to have given up in the meantime. Roger Bagnall has now questioned whether or not we need to infer "that Gesios had ever actually seen himself or portrayed himself as a pagan at any stage of his life," proposing instead to understand him as having been an Arian Christian ("or something close to it," in keeping with the ecclesiastical and theological sympathies of Emperor Valens's court in the 360s and 370s, whence Gesios's slogan, repeated with scorn many times by Shenoute, "Jesus was not divine").[56] From this perspective, it was only in Shenoute's heated rhetoric that Gesios could be called a "pagan" rather than merely a "heretic."

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[54] Emmel 2002, 105–106. Contrary to the opinion that I expressed earlier with regard to "the chronology of events to which these texts [the Shenoute vs. Gesios dossier] bear witness" (see Emmel 2002, 107–108), I am now working on the hypothesis that Gesios's visit to Shenoute's monastery took place after Shenoute's first raid on the wealthy landowner's house, after the follow-up authorized search, and after Shenoute wrote his open letter on that whole affair, *Not because a Fox Barks*. I imagine that Gesios's visit to the monastery was somehow in response to Shenoute's unwillingness to accept his *bona fides*, a quest for a way to get Shenoute off his back. The only way out seemed finally to be: if you cannot beat them, then join them.

[55] Or from Bentley Layton's edition and translation of one of the manuscript witnesses (ZX fr. 1r, reedited below [*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.26–33]), Layton 1992, 119 and 121.

[56] See Bagnall's contribution in this volume. I am still undecided whether a more literal translation "Jesus was not God" or "Jesus was not a god" is preferable to the one used here. Note that probably the translation chosen should in any case take the Coptic text of John 1:1 into consideration: ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁϫⲉ.

Although I am not fully convinced by it, I must say that I find this proposal attractive, perhaps even in the light of a new piece of information provided by the Vatican witness to the work of Shenoute presently under consideration, which at least adds a further nuance to the question of Gesios's self-understanding. In the new manuscript, we now have the direct continuation of Shenoute's report on his conversation with Gesios,[57] which I quote here beginning with the context of Gesios's apology for his youthful folly (whatever exactly that folly was):

> I (Shenoute) gave him a thump on the chest and said to him, "Until they cut out your tongue, with which you uttered blasphemy, doubting that Jesus was God!" And hearing these words, he was thinking that he might be able to cover up his humiliation, and he said, "I was young in those days," not realizing that he was speaking obvious falsehoods, because it was after his having received a governorship.[58] Is he still young now? What can he say at this advanced age? And what about the lying words that he[59] spoke when he made an agreement with me and with those who had accompanied him, saying, "I will become a Christian"? Can his want of good faith be hidden now? No, because it was not until after he went away from me, after I had said these things to him, that we took away his foolish matter shaped into a lot of idols for whom many lamps had been lit.[60]

"I will become a Christian"; in Coptic: †ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ.[61] If Gesios and Shenoute were speaking Greek (which is quite possible, and perhaps even likely), Gesios might have said: χριστιανὸς γίνομαι/γενήσομαι. But with what tone of voice did he say it? With what demeanor? And what did he mean by this statement? I myself see Gesios's shoulders sagging as he says the words. His head sinks toward his breast. He is giving in, and giving up.

And what does it mean, "I will become a Christian"? To my colleague Ulrich Gotter I owe the insight that it must be equivalent to a

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[57] Cf. Emmel 2002, 106.

[58] The new manuscript (WW 34:i.18–21) gives the correct reading (which is probably also to be restored in ZX; see n. 214 below, and cf. Emmel 2002, 106 nn. 55–56): ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉⲛⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲣⲉϥϫⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̀ϩⲏⲧⲉⲙⲱⲛ (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.28, here orthographically improved).

[59] Here is where ZJ 22 (the only witness known previously) breaks off, there being a lacuna at this point also in ZX fr. 1r:ii.1–18.

[60] WW 34:i.25–ii.16, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.27–33).

[61] Literally: "I will become Christian." But for a person to "become Christian" means to "become *a* Christian," and the latter is the more natural phrase in English, I think.

promise to submit to baptism.[62] Is this then the conversion of Gesios? Yes, in a sense, because this vow on Gesios's part to "become a Christian" brings us to what was probably the heart of the matter from Shenoute's perspective: his immediate goal was to get this man to submit to the authority of the orthodox Church, through baptism to impose that yoke upon this man's conscience—if I may borrow a suitable phrase from Libanius's oration *For the Temples*.[63] Getting Gesios baptized would not necessarily have changed his behavior in any ultimately significant way, of course, but no doubt, from Shenoute's point of view, it would be an important step in the right direction. Probably Shenoute also hoped that Gesios's taking such a step might serve as a paradigm for other members of Gesios's class, an incentive for them too to join the fold. The very fact that Gesios was brought to the point of at least agreeing in public to let himself be baptized (to "become a Christian") is a sign of the effectiveness of the pressure that was being brought to bear on him even while he was still outside the fold. Certainly he was being pressured by Shenoute, perhaps also by other forces about which we can only speculate.

Still, even if this line of reasoning is correct, the possibility cannot be excluded that Gesios had already chosen "nominal conversion to Christianity" sometime before his meeting with Shenoute—perhaps many years before—but without having gone so far as to be baptized. And if he nonetheless continued his pagan practices in secret, as seems to me to be the case (unless we are to dismiss much of what Shenoute wrote about Gesios as pure fiction, which I myself am not willing to do), then he became "a crypto-pagan in the strictest sense."[64] This is the understanding of Gesios that I proposed in my Leiden paper, and although

[62] In support of this interpretation, perhaps see Shenoute *The Lord Thundered* (ed. Amélineau 1907–1914, 1:378–380), codex DU 45–48, despised by God are pagans who are baptized and then return to their former error and lack of faith, woe to anyone who is baptized while being of two minds about it, there are those who say, "We have become Christians" (ⲁⲛⲣⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ) but nevertheless are divided in their faith and consort with pagans; Shenoute *God Says through Those Who Are His* (ed. Amélineau 1907–1914, 1:264), codex GF 255, there are some who say, "Just as we will not be able to move you (pl.) to become pagan (ⲣϩⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛ), you (pl.) will not be able to move us to become Christian" (ⲣⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ); *Pan. Mac. Antae.* 5.11 (ed. Johnson 1980, 38–39), pagans converted to Christianity (ⲣⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ in two MSS, ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲓⲛⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ in one MS) and were baptized (note that Bishop Makarios is present, as well as several priests).

[63] Lib. *or.* 30.53 (*Pro templis*) (LCL ed., pp. 148–149).

[64] Emmel 2002, 110–111.

this interpretation deserves further exploration and refinement, I do not propose to explore it in detail here. In the present context, what is important is to emphasize that Shenoute's report of Gesios's promise to "become a Christian" makes it crystal clear what Shenoute intended when he, together with seven monks, broke into Gesios's house in the dead of night: to expose him as a practicing pagan who was trying to pass himself off as a Christian, or at least had once tried (in Shenoute's church) to pass himself off as intending to become a Christian.

Had Gesios been baptized in the meantime? I think not, and I think that his failure to make good on his vow to "become a Christian" is what eventually triggered Shenoute's second major action against him.[65] In any case, clearly Shenoute had long suspected him of covert paganism, and on this occasion he was able to prove it (or at least so he thought). To judge from Shenoute's description in *Let Our Eyes* (and here I will play a little on the "airy upland slopes of surmise"[66]), we may imagine dawn breaking over Panopolis on the morning after the entry into Gesios's house, and the news traveling quickly, spread by the early risers to the rest of the citizenry, that a small band of monks from across the river, with their terrifying leader Shenoute at their head, had hauled a horde of old religious statues of the ancestral gods out of the house of one of the leading citizens, Flavius Aelius Gessius, the former provincial governor, and that the marauding monks were mocking the statues in public and accusing their owner of criminal religious worship.[67] A crowd will have gathered at the spot (probably Shenoute chose a very public place—such as the agora—for staging his dénouement), and there Shenoute will have held forth in his inimitable style, like one of the prophets in the Old Testament. More details come out of the violated house:

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[65] Note the possible double meaning of ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲧⲛⲁϩϯⲉ "faithlessness" in Shenoute's rhetorical question, "Can his want of good faith be hidden now?" Shenoute is accusing Gesios both of a lack of Christian faith, and of a lack of trustworthiness in keeping his promise to "become a Christian."

[66] See Bagnall's contribution in this volume.

[67] For a similar scene of public display and ridicule of pagan idols most of a century later, in Alexandria, see Frankfurter's contribution to this volume, where he recounts some of the details from a narration by Zachariah of Mitylene in his *Life of Severus* 27–35 (the discovery and exposure of secret pagan worship in Menouthis, whence some of the idols were transported to Alexandria for exposure and destruction). Compare also some of the actions taken by Christians against idols in connection with the destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria in 392 (for example, Hahn 2004, 87, 89, 96, as well as Hahn in this volume).

the idols, as the monks insist on calling them, had been removed in the darkness of the night from a securely locked room on the second floor. Surely the monks had inside help. ("Someone on the household staff is going to be in big trouble when Gessius figures out who the traitor is who helped the monks."—"It must have been one of the servants."—"I bet it's the gardener!")

Shenoute hears the rumors circulating and replies to them, insisting that he had no inside help, saying (as he repeated later in *Let Our Eyes*, which I take the liberty of paraphrasing here):[68] "*We* opened those huge, securely locked doors, by ourselves. Neither servant nor gardener nor anyone else at all in that fool's household knew that we were there—nobody! We had no key of any kind from any person belonging to that house, and we had no tools of any sort with us. But nevertheless we opened those huge doors, as the Lord Jesus Christ ordained."[69] Of course, the bystanders are talking with one another throughout. ("What is he saying? No keys or tools? How could they possibly have gotten in without keys or at least a crowbar?"[70]—"He says the doors opened by themselves."—"What arrogance!"—"He says Jesus opened the doors for them."—"I bet the gardener helped them!") Then at the end perhaps, as the *Vita Sinuthii* states, Shenoute and his accomplices "broke [the idols] to bits and threw them into the river," after which they crossed the river back to their monastery on the edge of the western desert. Some in Panopolis will have felt that Gesios only got what he deserved, but others were outraged at such a flagrant violation of private-property rights. These people—and probably they were the more politically influential part of the population—"did more honor to a godless man," as Shenoute put it later (in *Let Our Eyes*), than for the man who exposed the wicked idolator for what he really was.[71]

[68] See ZJ 27:i.11–ii.31, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 2.3).

[69] Note how the *Vita Sinuthii* preserves the story that the doors opened by themselves ("the moment they approached the pagans' door, the doors of the house opened one after another"; but cf. Acts 5:19, 12:10, 16:26). On the other hand, the claim in the *Vita* that the monks crossed the river without help ("they crossed the river and entered the city without any boat or sailor") might reflect Shenoute's concern that no one be accused of having been an accessory to his and his seven accomplices' actions.

[70] Apparently they underestimated Shenoute's prodigious physical strength.

[71] See ZJ 28:i.23–ii.4, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 2.7).

Let Our Eyes, the open letter to Panopolis[72] that Shenoute wrote not too much later, shows that Shenoute's strategy regarding Gesios was not successful. The unconverted (or at least a significant number of them) remained unconverted and unimpressed, and Shenoute had not only to repeat and clarify some of what he had said publicly at the time, but also to defend himself against the charge that he had broken the law. Had Gesios brought a formal charge against him? Very likely, I would think, but we do not know for sure.

And now we return to our main theme, for at the core of Shenoute's self-defence is an appeal to imperial legislation against pagan temples. In sum, his argument seems to run as follows: the emperors have decreed that the temples be destroyed; the reason is to destroy the cult objects inside the temples and thus to prevent pagan worship; if these same cult objects are found being used for the same purpose elsewhere (such as in a private house), then it is legitimate (ⲉⲝⲉⲥⲧⲓ/ἔξεστι) to destroy them there too (which is exactly what Shenoute claims he did). It is in the context of making this argument that Shenoute refers to having smashed idols "in the temple that we burned along with everything inside it," which I take to be a reference to the temple in Atripe. Why does he make this reference? In order to establish the identity between the objects that he found in Gesios's private chamber[73] and the cultic objects that one used to find in a temple:

> If it had not been we who smashed them (the demonic images and the idols) in the temple that we burned along with everything inside it, we might not have recognized them (when we found the same things elsewhere). Might there be some who doubt me? Nevertheless, the things we found in the temple are also what he (Gesios) worships in that place (the private chamber in his house). For he has put his faith in many gods.[74]

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[72] I cannot resist highlighting a word-play that Shenoute makes on the Greek name of the city he addresses (WW 29:ii.12–13, edited below [*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.7]), calling it not ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲥ, Panopolis, "the city of Pan," but ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ, Panomospolis, "the city of lawlessness" or "the lawless city" (literally "the city, the lawless one," except that the punning juxtaposition does not create a clear, grammatically correct construction, due to a conflict in gender between "the city" [feminine] and "the lawless one" [masculine]), or—as I have ventured to render it below—"City of Pandemonium" (see n. 101 below).

[73] Which objects were—by the time he wrote *Let Our Eyes*—presumably no longer available for examination, if Shenoute and his monks had broken them to bits and thrown them into the river.

[74] ZJ 28:ii.20–32, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 2.10–12).

Of course the question arises immediately, what did Shenoute know about imperial legislation against pagan worship? Here we must be especially cautious in our attempt to distinguish between reality and rhetoric in the things Shenoute says. It might help if we knew exactly when Shenoute wrote this work, and in fact a statement near the beginning of *Let Our Eyes* provides us with at least some clue to the date. Just at the end of his first description of the idols that he found in Gesios's private chamber, Shenoute sums it all up as

> everything that was in the temples back when he whose memory is of good repute, Theodosius the righteous emperor, had not yet given orders that they should be laid waste, just as his honored descendants (ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ/ γένος), the present righteous emperors who rule the earth, have decreed in their edicts to demolish and to dig out the foundations of what remains, until no stone among them is left on top of any other stone.[75]

Clearly Shenoute was writing after 395, the year when Emperor Theodosius died, leaving his two young sons, Honorius (aged 10) and Arcadius (aged 17 or 18), in charge of the West and the East, respectively. And most probably he was not writing later than 423, when Honorius was succeeded by Valentinian III, who was not of the *genos* of Theodosius. I myself am inclined to take Shenoute's use of the word *genos* as a sign that he was writing while both Honorius and Arcadius were still alive, that is, between 395 and 408,[76] although the period between 408 and 423 cannot be completely excluded, since Arcadius was succeeded in the East by Theodosius II, also of the *genos* of Theodosius.

As for Shenoute's understanding of the content of the laws he refers to, he says again near the end of the extant text of *Let Our Eyes*: "The righteous emperors . . . have given orders to destroy the temples and to remove them down to their foundations and smash them along with their idols inside."[77] Now the fact is—so far as we know—that Theodosius I never issued any such law commanding that the temples "should be laid waste," although the activities of his zealously Christian praetorian prefect, Cynegius, created an impression in some circles that Theodosius

[75] WW 27:ii.3–24, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 1.3).

[76] Compare the formulation that Shenoute used between 412 and 444 (Leipoldt 1906–1913, 3:88:17.25.27), that is, when the empire was under the control of Theodosius II and Honorius (until 423), or Theodosius II and Valentinian III (after 423): simply ⲛⲉⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ (ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ) "the (faithful) emperors."

[77] ZJ 28:ii.10–18, edited below (*Let Our Eyes* fr. 2.9).

himself was the mastermind of a campaign against temples and their activities.[78] Furthermore, Theodosius's legislation against pagan sacrifice, in the years 391 and 392,[79] might well have given the impression that he sought the closure and even destruction of temples, especially in Egypt, where the attack on the Serapeum in Alexandria and subsequent attacks elsewhere in the country seem to have been inspired by this legislation, even if Theodosius did not intend such consequences.

The general tendency of the anti-pagan legislation of Arcadius and Honorius is clearly a desire to appropriate temple buildings for public use, while at the same time recognizing a precedent for the destruction of pagan cult images and altars.[80] The only law we know of (before the well known law of 435[81]) that Shenoute might have cited in support of his claim that the house of Theodosius had ordered that the temples should be utterly destroyed is the law of July 399 *de templis in agris*.[82] This entire matter is one that requires a broader investigation than I have yet undertaken, including consideration of the related question, what penalty might Gesios have faced if he were successfully prosecuted for practicing pagan worship, even in the privacy of his own home?[83] However, it is very likely that Shenoute, like many Christian writers,[84] did not really know the laws in detail at all. But he knew which way the wind was blowing. His legal argument might be most interesting in the end as an example of how Christians in the provinces *perceived* imperial legislation:

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[78] E.g. Zos. *hist.* 4.37.3. Cf. Paschoud 1971–1989, 2.2:424–426; Chuvin 1990, 64–68 with notes on pp. 285–286; Geffcken 1929, 153–154.

[79] *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.10–12.

[80] *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.15 (a law from the year 399), 18 (399), and esp. 19 (407 or 408).

[81] *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.25; cf. Deichmann – de Labriolle 1954, 1229 and 1231 (where "nach dem theodosianischen Gesetz" means after this law of 435).

[82] *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.16 (addressed to the PP Orientis, Fl. Eutychianus [*PLRE* 1:320 (E. 5); 2:446 (E. 3)]): "If there should be any temples in the country districts, they shall be torn down without disturbance or tumult. For when they are torn down and removed, the material basis for all superstition will be destroyed" (trans. Pharr 1952, 474). For recent discussions of the imperial legislation against paganism, see Hahn forthcoming, and Meyer-Zwiffelhoffer forthcoming.

[83] The earliest relevant law is from November 392 (*Cod. Theod.* 16.10.12), according to which Gesios might have faced "the forfeiture of that house or landholding in which it is proved that he served a pagan superstition" (§ 2, trans. Pharr 1952, 474), as by burning incense to an idol, for example. Penalties got increasingly more severe as time went on: cf. *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.25 (a law of 435, trans. Pharr 1952, 476), which prescribes the death penalty for "all persons of criminal mind" who engage in any "practices that are prohibited by the authority of the more ancient sanctions," that is, by previous imperial legislation, going back to Constantine the Great.

[84] See Gotter's contribution to this volume.

not by reading the edicts and rescripts themselves, but through news that circulated about specific events that were explained as the workings of imperial laws. All things considered, I remain inclined to date the climax of Shenoute's conflict with Gesios, including the composition of *Let Our Eyes*, around the year 400.[85]

For the sake of discussion of Shenoute's work *Let Our Eyes*, an edition and translation of which I venture to append to this essay, I want to conclude the present contribution by mentioning an alternative interpretation of Shenoute's claims in this work. The interpretation offered above (and which I myself favor) takes for granted that Shenoute was not outright lying or fictionalizing. As long as there were any eye-witnesses in Panopolis, and as long as his letter was not intended for purely internal consumption within his monastery, I see no reason why Shenoute should have tried to falsify the basic facts of his account. But the crucial question (in the present context) is, had Shenoute in fact discovered a private shrine dedicated to the active but secret practice of pagan worship?[86] Or is it possible that what Shenoute found was in fact merely a cache of old cult objects that had long since ceased to be used for the purpose of religious worship? After all, we have (and the citizens of Panopolis had) only Shenoute's word that the objects he exposed had been set up as a shrine, with burning lamps and offerings of incense and bread. Under the circumstances it is only to be expected from Shenoute that he would paint as vivid a portrait of Gesios as an idolater as he could, regardless of the reality. I see no reason to doubt that Shenoute's inventory of the cult objects he discovered in Gesios's house is basically accurate. After all, public display (and ridicule) of the objects was an important part of the undertaking, which means that it was important for Shenoute that the Panopolitan populace see for themselves just what he had removed from Gesios's house. But there is reason to think further about how we should imagine the reality of Gesios's own religiosity behind the rhetoric of Shenoute's campaign against him. This is a topic that certainly requires further investigation.

[85] See further Emmel 2002, 111–113.

[86] This question was raised by David Frankfurter during the discussion of my paper at the colloquium. See Frankfurter's contribution to this volume, at nn. 39–42.

Appendix

Let Our Eyes, *a "Discourse" of Shenoute*

With the strong encouragement of several colleagues, I venture to offer here an edition and translation of the two surviving fragments of Shenoute's work *Let Our Eyes*, on which so much of the above presentation depends. First, my translation (for the reference system used, see the introduction to the Coptic text below, immediately after the translation).[87]

Fragment 1

1. Let our eyes—in accordance with the Scriptures[88]—look at what is right, and let our eyelids gaze at just things, and we will recognize how great is the impurity of the soul of every pestilential person who is inimical toward the faith of the universal Church. **2.** For not only does the great prophet Moses command, "Be not lawless," and "Make no graven images for yourselves in the likeness of any image, the likeness of male or female, the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged bird that flies under heaven, the likeness of any reptile that creeps on the earth, the likeness of any fish that moves in the waters under the earth," and "Lift not your eyes up to heaven and see the sun and the moon and the stars and all the order of heaven and go astray and worship them and serve them,"[89] but he also ordered, "If they set them up, they shall be killed."[90]

3. And yet, now someone has made for himself the image of Kronos and the images of the other demons, not having contented himself with the images of effeminate men and lewd and licentious women, whose activities are shameful to speak of,[91] just as you (pl.) saw them all, each according to its type, even the images of priests with shaven heads and altars in their hands, everything that was in the temples back when he

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[87] In the Sommersemester 2005, I read this text with a number of advanced students in Münster, all of whom I wish to thank here for their contribution to my understanding of Shenoute's meaning. I am especially grateful to Hans-Joachim Cristea (who joined us when he could commute from Trier) for giving me a copy of his annotated translation at the end of the semester.

[88] Prov 4:25, adapted.

[89] Deut 4:16–19; cf. Deut 5:8–9 and Exod 20:4–5.

[90] Cf. Deut 13:6–9, 17:2–5, or Exod 22:20, although none of these passages accords precisely with Shenoute's quotation.

[91] Cf. Eph 5:12.

whose memory is of good repute, Theodosios the righteous emperor, had not yet given orders that they should be laid waste, just as his honored descendants, the present righteous emperors who rule the earth, have decreed in their edicts to demolish and to dig out the foundations of what remains, until no stone among them is left on top of any other stone.[92]

4. The Gospel says, "If anyone walks in day, he does not stumble,"[93] by which I mean to say that since God commands through His prophets throughout the Scriptures to remove the abominations from His presence, and the righteous emperors decree that the entire earth be cleansed of perversions, and since "no other foundation can be laid than that which is laid,"[94] how can it be anything but a very good thing that we exposed a house, along with its owner, as a nest of that serpent Satan, of whom the prophet spoke, saying, "Leviathan the twisting serpent"?[95]

5. The birds that fly in the air also have their nests on the tips of tree branches, but more often in desert places. For their part, the nests of the spirits of wickedness are the hearts of every pagan and every heretic, who are like deserts because there is neither faith nor fear of God in them.[96] These are the places about which the prophets spoke, saying, "The demons will dance there."[97] **6.** For when serpents grow weak from being stabbed inside of crevices,[98] they can still spit out poison at their attackers. Just so, when the unclean spirits grow weak from being stabbed with their attackers' faith and their love for Jesus, they can do nothing as they writhe from side to side except spit out lies and insults through the mouths of those whose hearts serve them as nests, when they come to be enclosed inside them since they are also pursued in the air when true Christians spread out their hands.[99]

7. Now, there is nothing new under the sun—in accordance with what is written[100]—wisdom and foolishness, truth and falsehood, love

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[92] Cf. Matt 24:2, Mark 13:2, Luke 21:6.

[93] John 11:9.

[94] 1 Cor 3:11.

[95] Isa 27:1.

[96] In Coptic, the words for "heart" and "tip" (as here in "tips of tree branches") are homonyms, so that Shenoute has made a play on words in addition to drawing a parallel between "desert places" and desert-like pagans and heretics (or their desert-like hearts).

[97] Isa 13:21.

[98] For another reference by Shenoute to this method of killing a serpent (or snake), see Young 2000, 89 and 98.

[99] Spread out their hands above their heads in prayer, in the typical posture of ancient Christian prayer.

[100] Qoh 1:9.

and hatred, benevolence and malice, faith and faithlessness, godliness and godlessness, but still I am going to ask: why did they open their mouths against me in you, O City of Pandemonium?[101] **8.** I do not mean the majority of your citizens, the blessed flock of the good shepherd Christ, but rather I mean those who are alien to the flock. **9.** "The law does not judge a man without first giving him a hearing," as it is written.[102] What is the crime that I have committed because I said, "Do not be cruel to the poor"? **10.** Is there any witness more reliable than the witness of the Scriptures? Tell me from out of *them* what the sin is that I have committed, or how it was wrong for me to remove idols from the house of a godless man, and in particular the image of Kronos, along with her who is called Hecate, through whom people are deceived at the oracles.

11. Now, all the words that they who are ignorant of God's counsel have spoken against me I consider as nothing. **12.** I, the least of all people, do not forget what the Lord said to the perfect: "Blessed are you when men revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account."[103] For it was on account of the madness of this kind of people at all times, as well as all their words that they utter in wickedness, that the Lord said, "Pray for those who persecute you, bless those who curse you."[104] **13.** Instead of your towers and all your high places, and in particular your walls, O Šmin, shedding tears on account of these people's cruelties and their blasphemies against your God, the Savior Jesus, in accordance with what is written: "O walls of Zion! Let tears stream down like a torrent day and night! Let them not stop streaming! Do not forget yourself, daughter, and give your eye no respite!"[105]—instead of doing that, they have rather displayed hatred by their slanders and their calumnies, such as to make us reply, in accordance with what is written, "Redeem me from man's calumny!" or "Let not the arrogant slander me!"[106]

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[101] I.e. Šmin/Panopolis. Here is another play on words by Shenoute, which my translation only approximates (Shenoute uses *panomos* "the lawless one" [rendered by me as "of Pandemonium"] instead of the expected *panos*, meaning "of Pan"); cf. n. 72 above.

[102] John 7:51.

[103] Matt 5:11.

[104] Matt 5:44 + Luke 6:28.

[105] Lam 2:18.

[106] Ps 119:134 and 119:122. Codex ZJ quotes verse 134 in full: "Redeem me from man's calumny that I may keep thy precepts!"

14. For it is not on account of any great righteousness on my part that I might become worthy of mercy from Jesus, but because I have been abused in Šmin with every word by which anyone wanted to disgrace me on account of His name. **15.** For He too, the sinless one, Jesus, was reviled. **16.** And what crime did the Lord of Glory commit that He should have been numbered with the transgressors?[107] As He said with His own mouth, "This, which is written about me, must be fulfilled in me: 'He was reckoned with transgressors.'"[108] **17.** And what is it about all His words and deeds that they should say, "He has an unclean spirit and he is beside himself"?[109] **18.** And in what crime did those impious people catch Him when they said, "We know that this man is a sinner"?[110] **19.** And what did[111] the prophets and the apostles do that they were not only reviled, but were even persecuted and killed?

20. So whoever speaks at any time about what is right, and whoever humiliates those who have not known God, whether they be perfect, or whether they be among the least of men, will surely be reviled. **21.** And also all kinds of evil will be uttered against them, just as "they bent their tongue like a bow"[112] when they lied about me in the house of a blasphemer against Jesus because I took his gods, whom he worships by lighting a lot of lamps for them, and offering up incense to them on the altars, with what they call *kuphi*, and breaking bread before them. And because we made an example of him by removing his idols from a private chamber[113] during the night quietly even though the doors protected them securely.

22. He who brought His fear upon those living there and around there, until we accomplished this work during the whole night, was also the one who enabled us to open the doors as He wanted. **23.** It was also He who led us through the atrium and up the stairway of that house until we came upon those abominations hidden away. **24.** And it was He who made straight our entry and our exit. **25.** And it was through Him that we exposed them[114] openly so as for everyone to recognize

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[107] Cf. Isa 53:12.
[108] Luke 22:37.
[109] Mark 3:30 + 3:21; cf. John 10:20 etc.
[110] John 9:24. "When they said": perhaps rather "so as to say" (thus codex ZJ, as it seems [see n. 185 below]).
[111] Literally: "do."
[112] Jer 9:3.
[113] "Private chamber": or "bedroom."
[114] The abominations, i.e. the idols.

his[115] contempt and his shame, for them to recognize that he is a liar for having said, "There are no idols in my house," when I asked him, since Jesus, in whom he does not believe, has exposed his moral failings.

26. And furthermore because[116] I humiliated him as an enemy of Jesus when he came to us in his hypocrisy, before we had taken away his hope, in which he trusts—that is, the demonic images—when I spoke to him like this as we stood with the whole crowd assembled in the house of God: "By which road have you come to us? By the king's highway[117] or by the wilderness highway? Have you come to us with the mind of Christ,[118] or with the mind of Kronos?" **27.** And also when I gave him a thump on the chest and said to him, "Until they cut out your tongue, with which you uttered blasphemy, doubting that Jesus was God!"[119] **28.** And hearing these words, he was thinking that he might be able to cover up his humiliation, and he said, "I was young in those days," not realizing that he was speaking obvious falsehoods, because it was after his having received a governorship. **29.** Is he still young now? **30.** What can he say at this advanced age? **31.** And what about the lying words that he spoke when he made an agreement with me and with those who had accompanied him, saying, "I will become a Christian"? **32.** Can his want of good faith be hidden now? **33.** No, because it was not until after he went away from me, after I had said these things to him, that we took away his foolish matter shaped into a lot of idols for whom many lamps had been lit.

34. Why should those who are reviled for Jesus' sake be at all distressed? For not only do they hear the prophets saying, "Fear not the reproach of men, and be not dismayed at their revilings,"[120] or "Fear not […," but also the Lord has said, "If the world hates you, know that it has hated] me [before it hated you],"[121] [and also] "If [they persecuted] me, [they will persecute] you; if they kept my word, they will keep yours also,"[122] and "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebul,

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[115] Gesios's.

[116] "And furthermore because" continues the series of such statements that begins in § 21 and is interrupted by §§ 22–25.

[117] Cf. Num 20:17, 21:22.

[118] Cf. 1 Cor 2:16.

[119] "…blasphemy, doubting that Jesus was God": or perhaps "…blasphemy! Because Jesus *was* God!"

[120] Isa 51:7. For the next, incomplete quotation, see perhaps Isa 37:6 or 41:10; see n. 218 below for a suggestion that Matt 10:28 might be quoted here (although from the context one expects rather a passage from the Old Testament prophets).

[121] John 15:18.

[122] John 15:20.

how much more will they malign those of his household?"[123] and also "All this they will do to you on my account."[124] **35.** If it were on account of greed or any other vice that [they] blaspheme against the [Son] of God, [or even] on my [own] account, [like] some [gentile (?) person, then it were woe to] me! **36.** But since [it is on] Jesus' [account that they …] all their [slanders] against me […].

Fragment 2[125]

1. […] you (pl.) that (?) those impious servants said that the great prophet Moses was a magician, just as they spoke blasphemies and reviled the righteous king David in their talk that is cancerous like gangrene.[126]

2. If it is said in you,[127] "Such big claims they make, that the doors opened by themselves!" inquire into when I have ever said such words incommensurate with the Scriptures, or whether I was not just scolding those who mislead those who are misled in these things. **3.** Rather, what I said and testified, clearing those suspected of collaborating with us, was that neither servant nor gardener nor anyone else at all connected with that fool knows what we did, and that we received neither iron key nor wooden key nor key-ring from any of his people, and that we had with us no tool of any sort for opening, but that we opened those great doors that were very securely fastened—we did not say that they opened [by] themselves, but rather we opened them as the Lord ordained—and that the door by which we entered the private chamber[128] on the [second storey, where] those [vain] things[129] were kept, popped out, **4.** [not] because we put our shoulders to it and pushed with force, or with […]s or any other tools, but when he[130] from whom those in Šmin hate to hear about the glory of God grasped it, it fell by coming off its hinges, and we carried it away easily. We did not suffer any hurt, and we did not stumble [at all] in that house, which is full of darkness because also the lord of that house is dark.

[123] Matt 10:25.
[124] John 15:21.
[125] There is a gap of ca. 5 typical manuscript pages between fragments 1 and 2 (from the end of ZX fr. 1v to the beginning of ZJ 27).
[126] Cf. 2 Tim 2:17.
[127] Šmin/Panopolis.
[128] "Private chamber": or "bedroom."
[129] The idols.
[130] Shenoute.

5. If it [is] said in you,[131] "They used to enter people's houses and remove their images," inquire into whom they are images of, or what acts are performed for them, including even the ell, the measure of the water's rise: **6.** this object, which we bring in gratitude to the holy church, they have brought before the likenesses of the demons, just as we [found] it standing at their feet in the midst of them. **7.** And they[132] did not get angry in their hearts at him[133] who does such things, but rather they became full of rage at him[134] who removed them from that place.[135] They have had no respect for him[136] at all, but have even reviled him for his actions, doing more honor in you[137] to a godless man than to him, embracing a blasphemer against the name of Him who sustains you and benefits you in every way, Jesus, and thinking badly of him who shook that barren tree.

8. If it is illegal to remove demonic images from that man's house, is it also illegal to remove them from their temples? **9.** Because the things on account of which the righteous emperors, in their love for God, have given orders to destroy the temples and to remove them down to their foundations and smash them along with their idols inside—it is these same things that we removed from that place.[138] **10.** If it had not been we who smashed them in the temple that we burned along with everything inside it, we might not have recognized them.[139] **11.** Might there be some who doubt me? Nevertheless, the things we found in the temple are also what he[140] worships in that place.[141] **12.** For he has put his faith in many gods, from the image of Zeus [. . . *the rest is wanting* . . .].[142]

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[131] Šmin/Panopolis.
[132] Residents of Šmin/Panopolis.
[133] Gesios.
[134] Shenoute.
[135] I.e. removed the idols from the private chamber on the second storey of Gesios's house.
[136] Shenoute.
[137] Šmin/Panopolis.
[138] I.e. removed from the private chamber on the second storey of Gesios's house.
[139] I.e. "we might not have recognized them (the idols) when we found them in the private chamber in that man's house."
[140] Gesios.
[141] I.e. in the private room on the second storey of Gesios's house.
[142] The next extant leaf of our three witnesses is ZJ 33/34 (Cambridge University Library Or. 1699J f. 1, unpublished), which seems no longer to belong to *Let Our Eyes* (although this possibility has not yet been entirely excluded; see Emmel 2004, 2:680).

Preliminary Edition of the Coptic Text

The Coptic text offered here is based on the three manuscript witnesses presently known to survive, all of them fragmentary: White Monastery codexes (MONB.) WW (pp. 26–34, transcribed autoptically in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), ZJ (pp. 21–22 and 27–28, first transcribed from photographs and then collated autoptically in the Papyrussammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna),[143] and ZX (frg. 1, published by Layton 1992, 117–121, pls. 71–72). For descriptions of the manuscripts, see Emmel 2004, 1:329–331, 350–353, and 360–361. In referring to the manuscripts, a reference such as WW 26:i.16 means line 16 in the first column on page 26 of codex MONB. WW. In order not to intrude too much on the legibility of the text, only the beginning of every fifth line in each column is marked (with a single vertical bar), additionally also the break between columns on a page (double vertical bar); in the text, these divisions represent codex WW for as long as it survives (up to n. 218), then ZX frg. 1 (from n. 218 until the end of fragment 1 of the work), and finally ZJ 27–28 (fragment 2 of the work). Breaks between pages in all three manuscripts are marked in the text with an asterisk and a footnote.

So far as WW survives, I give the text of this manuscript; after it breaks off, I give the text of ZX and then ZJ. In transcribing the latter two witnesses, I have omitted punctuation marks that seem to serve only to divide between morphemes (raised points in ZJ, apostrophes in ZX); I suspect that some of the superlinear strokes (which are sometimes so short as to be more like dots) in WW also serve only this purpose, but I have retained them in my transcription (transcribing them all as strokes). I have not reported all orthographic and other such relatively insignificant variants exhaustively in the footnotes. The numbered divisions in the text (and translation) sometimes represent major divisions in the manuscripts, marked by the occurrence of an initial, but often I have added divisions on my own for the sake of clarity, and I have also grouped numbered divisions into paragraphs for the convenience of the reader.

[143] Also, Dwight W. Young had kindly shown me his own autoptic transcription of these leaves in 1994.

Fragment 1 = WW 26:i.16—ⲤX frg. 1v

1. ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲉⲛⲃⲁⲗ[144] ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲉ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲃⲟⲩⲍⲉ | ⲉⲓⲱⲣ̄ⲙ ⲉⲙⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉⲛⲁⲱⲉⲧⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ | ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲓⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ‖ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲏ ⲉ̄ⲕ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ· **2.** ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ̄ ⲭⲉⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲫ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲍⲱⲛ ⲭⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ·[145] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲭⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲧⲁⲙⲓⲉⲕⲗⲩⲡⲧⲟⲛ[146] ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲙ̄|ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲏ̄ ⲥⲍⲓⲙⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲛⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲓ̄|ⲭ̄ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲏⲧ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲣⲉⲥⲍⲱⲗ ⲉⲥⲍⲏⲗ ⲍⲁⲣⲟ̄ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲭⲁⲧⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ | ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲍⲓⲭ̄ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲍ· ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃ̄ⲧ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲍⲓⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲛⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲍⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁ̄ⲍ | ⲁⲩⲱ ⲭⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲥⲓⲉⲓⲁⲧⲕ ⲉⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲣⲏ ⲙⲛⲡⲟⲟⲍ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ *ⲙ̄ⲛⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ[147] ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲅⲡⲗⲁⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲅⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ | ⲛⲅⲱⲙⲱⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲉⲍⲥⲁⲍⲛⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲭⲉⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲧⲁⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ·

3. ⲁⲟⲩⲁ ⲇⲉ | ⲍⲱⲱⲥ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉⲓⲕⲱⲛ[148] ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲉⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲙ̄|ⲡⲉⲥⲍⲱ[149] ⲉ̄ⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲗⲁⲕⲟ̄ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛⲍⲉⲛⲍⲓⲟⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄|ⲁⲧⲱⲁⲩ ⲉ̄ⲍⲉⲛⲱⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲭⲟⲟⲩ· ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ[150] ⲉ̄ⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ | ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲧⲉⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲉⲛⲟⲩϩⲏⲃ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲩ‖ⲁⲡⲉ ⲍⲟⲟⲕⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲱⲏⲩⲉ ⲍⲓⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲇⲓⲭ· ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲍⲓⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲣⲡⲏⲩⲉ | ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉ̄ⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲡⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲥⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲉ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲑⲉⲟ̄ⲇⲱⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ | ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟ̄ⲥ ⲟⲩⲉⲍⲥⲁⲍⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉ̄ⲡⲱⲱⲥ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲉⲥⲅⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲥ[151] ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏⲩ | ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟ̄ⲥ ⲉ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓ ⲉⲭ̄ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲥ ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲍⲓⲛⲉⲩ̄ⲥⲍⲁⲓ ⲉ̄ⲱⲟ̄ⲣⲱⲣ̄ | ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲃ̄ⲟ̄ⲗⲃ̄ⲗ ⲛⲛⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲕⲉⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲧ̄ⲙⲕⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲉ̄ⲭⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ |

4. ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ̄ⲥ ⲭⲉⲡⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲥⲭⲓ-ⲭⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲭⲱ[152] ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓ ⲭⲉⲉⲱⲭⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲍⲱⲛ ⲍⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ̄

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[144] *Sic incipit* WW 26:i.16; the beginning of every fifth line (|) and each new column (‖ or *) of this manuscript is marked, until the end of WW 34 (see n. 218 below).

[145] *Sic* WW 26:ii.6–7; ⲭⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲁⲛⲟⲙⲉⲓ is perhaps to be expected. Cf. Deut 4:16 (ed. Ciasca 1885, 124) ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓ, and Kasser 1962, 104 ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲣⲁⲛⲟⲙⲉⲓ (*sic*; cf. pl. 20 and p. 18). I myself do not know of any examples to support Kasser's suggestion (p. 104 note on line 2) that one might understand ⲣⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ here. Of course the construction is possible, but on the other hand the verb ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲉⲓ is well attested in Sahidic, as is the phenomenon of certain Greek nouns replacing cognate infinitives (e.g., ⲗⲩⲡⲏ for ⲗⲩⲡⲉⲓ, ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ for ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ, or ⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ for ⲁⲡⲁⲧⲁ [see n. 230 below]).

[146] ⲕⲗⲩⲡⲧⲟⲛ i.e. ⲅⲗⲩⲡⲧⲟⲛ.

[147] *Incipit* WW 27.

[148] I.e. ⲛ̄ⲑⲓⲕⲱⲛ.

[149] I.e. ⲉⲙⲡⲉⲍⲱ.

[150] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ.

[151] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲡⲉⲍⲅⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲥ.

[152] *Incipit* WW 28.

ϩN|ⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲟⲧⲉ[153] ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲥ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ|ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲇⲟⲟⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲱⲭⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲇⲟⲙ ⲉⲕⲁⲕⲉⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ | ⲉ̄ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲧⲉⲧⲕⲏ ⲉ̄ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ̄ⲛⲁⲱ[154] ⲛ̄ϩⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲉⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲏⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ | ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲧⲉⲡⲱⲕ ⲡⲉ· ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲃⲏⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲟⲕ ⲉ̄ⲧ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ· ⲉⲛⲧⲁ-ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ | ⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲭⲉⲡⲉⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲡϩⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲇⲟⲟⲙⲉ

5. ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲛⲁ ‖ ϩ̄ⲙⲡⲁⲏ̄ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩⲃⲏⲃ ⲟⲛ ϩⲓⲝⲙ̄ⲡϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧ|ⲱⲏⲥ· ⲛⲉⲡⲛⲁ ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲏⲃ ⲛⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛϩⲁⲓⲣⲉ|ⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉ̄ⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓⲉ ⲭⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ | ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ[155] ⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲭⲉⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ[156] ⲛⲁⲇⲟⲥⲇⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ· **6.** ⲉⲣ|ⲱⲁⲛϩⲉⲛϩⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲣⲇⲱⲃ ϩⲓⲧ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲕⲱⲛⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ϩⲉⲛⲱⲕⲟⲗ ⲧⲇⲟⲙ ⲉ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲥ̄ | ⲡⲉ ϩⲉⲗⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ· ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛⲛⲉⲡⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ *ⲣⲇⲱⲃ[157] ϩⲓⲧ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲕⲱⲛⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ | ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲓⲥ· ⲙ̄ⲛⲇⲉⲇⲟⲙ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲩ ϩ̄ⲙⲡⲧⲣⲉⲩϩⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲥⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲭⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ | ⲛ̄ⲇⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲥⲱⲱ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲟ̄ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃⲏⲃ ϩ̄ⲙ-ⲡⲧⲣⲉⲩⲱⲣⲃ̄ ⲉ̄ϩⲟⲩⲛ | ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ· ⲉⲩⲡⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ϩ̄ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲁⲏⲣ ϩⲓⲧ̄ⲙⲡⲡⲱⲣⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲇⲓⲝ ⲛⲛⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥ|ⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟ̄ⲥ ϩⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉ

7. ⲙ̄ⲛⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲣⲉ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲡⲉⲧⲥϩⲣ̄· ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ-|ⲣ̄ⲙⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲑⲏⲧ ⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲇⲟⲗ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ‖ ⲡⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉⲥⲣⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉⲥⲣⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲡⲓⲥ|ⲧⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧ-ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟ̄ⲥ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓ|ϩⲉ ⲭⲉⲁⲣⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲣⲟⲓ ⲉ̄ϩⲣⲁⲓ[158] ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ̄ⲉ ⲧⲡⲟ̄ⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟ̄ⲥ· **8.** ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ̄ ⲉ̄ⲡⲟⲩ|ⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲉ̄ⲛⲉ|ⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲙⲟ̄ ⲉⲡⲟ̄ϩⲉ **9.** ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲥⲱⲧ̄ⲙ[159] ⲉ̄ⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧ|ⲥϩⲣ̄· ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲉ̣ⲑⲟⲟⲩ[160] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲁⲁⲥ[161] ⲭⲉⲁⲓⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲭⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲭⲓⲛ̄ϩⲕⲉ ⲛⲇⲟⲛ̄ⲥ **10.** *ⲙⲏ[162] ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲇⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲉ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ·

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[153] I.e. ⲛ̄ⲛⲃⲟⲧⲉ.
[154] I.e. ⲛ̄ⲁⲱ.
[155] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ.
[156] I.e. ⲭⲉⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ.
[157] *Incipit* WW 29.
[158] ϩⲣⲁⲓ is to be expected.
[159] I.e. ⲉⲙⲡⲥⲥⲱⲧ̄ⲙ.
[160] Apparently the copyist first wrote ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲡⲉ, and then either he or a corrector altered ⲉ[2] (at the end of line 25) to ⲡ, presumably also adding ⲉ thereafter, although this letter is barely discernible, if at all.
[161] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲁⲁⲥ.
[162] *Incipit* WW 30.

ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ | ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲣⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϫⲉⲟⲩ ⲡ̄ⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲁⲁϥ[163] ⲏ̄ ⟨ⲙ̄⟩ⲧⲁⲓⲡⲗⲁⲛⲁ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲟ̂ⲩ̂ ϫⲉⲁⲓϥ̄ⲓ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄|ⲡⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ· ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ | ⲉ̄ⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲁⲑ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲉ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉ̄ⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ̄ⲥ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲓⲛⲉ·

11. ⲉⲛ|ⲱⲁϫⲉ[164] ⲙⲉⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩϫⲟⲟⲩ[165] ⲉ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲛⲉⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ̄ⲡⲱⲟϫⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ †ⲱⲡ | ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲣⲉⲛⲗⲁⲁⲩ **12.** ⲛ̄†ⲟⲃⲱ ⲁ̄ⲛ ⲁ̄ⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲗⲁϫⲓⲥ̄ⲧⲟⲥ[166] ⲉ̄ⲛⲉⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ[167] ϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄‖ⲧⲉⲗⲉⲓⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲛⲉⲇⲛⲉ̄ⲇⲧⲏⲩⲧ̄ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲛ̄ | ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲉⲣⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲥⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ̄ⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲉⲩϫⲓⲇⲟⲗ ⲉ̄ⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲉ̄ⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ̄· ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲧⲁⲡⲟⲛⲓⲁ[168] | ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ[169] ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲱⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲧⲟⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ | ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ[170] ϫⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲉ̄ϫⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲡⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲛ· ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲉⲧ|ⲥⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ **13.** ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲉ̄ⲧⲣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲡⲩ̄ⲣⲅⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϫⲟⲥⲉ ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ | ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲃ̄ⲧ[171] ⲱⲙⲓⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲙ̄ⲉⲓⲏ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉⲥⲭⲓⲛⲓⲥⲟⲛⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉ*ⲧ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲩ[172] ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉⲥⲭⲓⲟⲩⲁ ⲉ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ | ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲡⲉⲧⲥⲏⲣ ϫⲉⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲃ̄ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲱⲛ ⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲛⲣⲙⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ|ⲥⲱⲣⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲱⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲣⲧⲣⲉⲩⲱϫ̄ⲛ̄ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲡⲣ†ⲱⲃⲱ ⲛⲉ | ⲧⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲣⲧⲣⲉ-ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲥ̄ⲧ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ ⲉ̄ⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲥ|ⲧⲉ ⲥ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲕⲱⲙⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲥⲩⲕⲱⲫⲁⲛⲧⲓⲁ[173] ⲥⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲉ̄ⲧⲣⲉⲛϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲱⲛ ⲕⲁ|ⲧⲁⲡⲉⲧ*ⲥⲏⲥ[174] ϫⲉⲥⲟⲧ̄ⲧ ⲉⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ[175] ⲏ̄ ϫⲉⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲣⲧⲣⲉⲛ̄ϫⲁⲥⲓⲥⲏⲧ ⲥⲓⲗⲁ ‖ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ·

14. ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲧⲁⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲏ[176] ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁ̄ⲛ[177] ⲉⲧ̄ⲣⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁ | ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲓⲧ̄ⲛⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϫⲉⲁⲩⲥ{ⲁ}ⲟⲟⲩⲱ̄[178] ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲥ̄ⲛⲱⲙⲉⲓⲛ[179] ⲥ̄ⲛⲱⲁϫⲉ

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[163] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲁⲁϥ.
[164] I.e. ⲛⲱⲁϫⲉ.
[165] ⲛⲧⲁⲩ (i.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩ) was corrected by the copyist, or a corrector, from ⲛⲧⲁⲓ.
[166] Probably ⲡⲉⲗⲁϫⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ is meant.
[167] I.e. ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ.
[168] I.e. ⲁⲡⲟⲛⲟⲓⲁ (for the occurrence of this word elsewhere in Shenoute's works, see Leipoldt 1906–1913, 4:157:6).
[169] I.e. ⲛ̄†ⲙⲓⲛⲉ or ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ.
[170] I.e. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ.
[171] I.e. ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲟⲃ̄ⲧ.
[172] *Incipit* WW 31.
[173] I.e. ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲥⲩⲕⲱⲫⲁⲛⲧⲓⲁ.
[174] *Incipit* ZJ 21.
[175] ZJ 21:i.2 *add.* ⲧⲁϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲉⲕ⟨ⲉⲛ⟩ⲧⲟⲗⲏ̄; cf. Ps 119:134 (118:134 LXX) (ed. Budge 1898, 133 [ⲥⲟⲧ̄ⲧ ⲉⲗⲁ̂ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲁϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ]).
[176] ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲧⲁⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ZJ 21:i.4–5, as is to be expected (the spelling ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲛⲏ occurs also at WW 22:i.10–11 and 24:i.5–6).
[177] ⲁⲛ *om.* ZJ 21:i.5; but ⲁⲛ is necessary for the sense.
[178] ϫⲉⲁⲩϩⲟⲟⲩⲱ ZJ 21:i.7–8, as is to be expected.
[179] ⲥ̄ⲛⲱⲙⲓⲛ ZJ 21:i.8–9, as is to be expected.

ⲛⲓⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ[180] ⲉ̄|ⲧⲇⲁⲉⲓⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲧⲃⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ **15.** ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲡⲁⲧⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ⲁⲩⲥⲟϣ̄ϥ **16.** ⲛ̄|ⲧⲁϥⲣ̄ⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ϫⲉⲉⲩⲛⲁⲟ̄ⲡ̄ϥ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ· ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ|ϫⲟⲟⲥ[181] ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ϫⲉⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲥϩⲏ ⲉ̄ⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ ϩⲁⲡⲥ ⲉ̄ⲧⲣⲉϥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ϫⲉⲁⲩ|ⲟ̄ⲡϥ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ **17.** ⲏ̄[182] ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉϥⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉϥϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲣⲟⲩ̂ ⲟⲛ ϫⲉⲉⲩⲛⲁ(ϫⲟⲟⲥ)[183] *ϫⲉⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ[184] ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲁⲩⲱ ϥⲗⲟⲃⲉ **18.** ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ | ϩⲛ̄ⲁⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲛⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩϫⲱ[185] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉⲡⲏⲣⲱⲙⲉ[186] ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲣ̄|ⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ **19.** ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫ̀ⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ ϫⲉⲁⲩⲥⲟϣ̄ⲟⲩ ⲁⲗ|ⲗⲁ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ

20. ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲁϫⲉ ⲉ̄ϫ̄ⲙ̄|ⲡⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ̄ ⲛⲓⲙ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁϫⲡⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ· ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉ̄ϩⲉⲛⲧⲉ|ⲗⲓⲟⲥ[187] ⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉϩⲉⲛⲉⲗⲁϫⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ[188] ⲛⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲟϣ̄ⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲥ[189] **21.** ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲉϩⲱⲃ || ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲥϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ̄ⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩϫⲱⲗ̄ⲕ[190] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲗⲁ̄ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄|ⲟⲩⲡⲓⲧⲉ ⲉⲩϫⲓⲟⲟⲗ ⲉ̄ⲣⲟⲓ ϩ̄ⲙⲡⲏ̣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲥϫⲓⲟⲩⲁ[191] ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲓⲥ̄· ⲉⲧⲃⲉϫⲉⲁⲓ̣ⲥⲓ̄[192] ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲥ̄|ⲱⲙⲱⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲥϫⲉⲣⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲃⲥ̄ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲥⲧⲁⲗⲉⲱⲟⲩϩⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ | ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̄ ⲉ̣ϫⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲕⲩⲫ̀ⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲥⲡⲉⲱⲟⲉⲓⲕ ϩⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ· ⲁⲩⲱ | ϫⲉⲁⲛⲁⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲅⲙⲁ[193] ϩ̄ⲙⲡⲧⲣⲉⲛⲥⲓ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲓⲧⲱⲛ[194] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲏ | ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲁⲣⲧ ⲉ̣ⲣⲉⲛ̄ⲣⲟ̄ ⲟⲣ̄ϫ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ̣[195]

22. ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ̣ⲛⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥϩⲟⲧⲉ *ⲉϫ̄ⲛⲛⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ*ϩⲛ̄[196] ϩ̄ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲡⲉⲥⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲏ̈ϩⲱⲃ[197] ϩ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲩ|ⲱⲏ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ†ⲟⲉ

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[180] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ.

[181] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲥ.

[182] ⲏ̄ *om.* ẒJ 21:i.22, as it seems (the parchment surface is very dirty at this place); the omission of ⲏ̄ would not change the sense.

[183] ϫⲉⲉⲩⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ ẒJ 21:i.24–25, as is to be expected.

[184] *Incipit* WW 32; i.e. ϫⲉⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ.

[185] ⲉϫⲱ ẒJ 21:i.30, as it seems (the parchment surface is very dirty at this place); the text of ẒJ is perhaps to be preferred.

[186] I.e. ϫⲉⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲱⲙⲉ.

[187] I.e. ⲉϩⲉⲛⲧⲉⲗⲉⲓⲟⲥ.

[188] ⲉϩⲉⲛ[ⲉ]ⲗⲁϫⲓⲥⲧⲟⲛ ẒJ 21:ii.11–12, probably by error.

[189] ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲥ ẒJ 21:ii.13, which is preferable orthography.

[190] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩϫⲱⲗ̄ⲕ.

[191] ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ]ⲣⲉⲥⲣ̄ⲛⲟⲃⲉ·ϫⲓⲟⲩⲁ ẒJ 21:ii.17–18, but probably ⲣ̄ⲛⲟⲃⲉ· was written by error and should have been cancelled.

[192] ⲉⲧⲃⲉϫⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲓ̄ ẒJ 21:ii.19.

[193] I.e. ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲉⲓⲅⲙⲁ.

[194] ϩ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲓⲧⲱⲛ ẒJ 21:ii.30.

[195] ⲉⲣⲉⲛ̄ⲣⲟ ⲟⲣ̄ϫ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ẒJ 21:ii.32.

[196] *Incipit* ẒJ 22 (*[1]; ⲉϫ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩϩⲛ̄) *et* WW 33 (*[2]).

[197] ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲉⲩ̈ϩⲱⲃ ẒJ 22:i.3, which is preferable orthography (unless ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ is meant).

ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ[198] ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲟⲩⲁⲱ̄ⲥ·[199] **23.** ⲛ̄|ⲧⲟⲥ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲛ-ⲧⲁⲥⲭⲓⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲥⲏⲧⲛ ⲥ̄ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲑⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲧ̄ⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲓ ⲉ̄ⲧ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲱⲁⲛ|ⲧ̄ⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲏⲛ **24.** ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲥⲥⲟⲟⲩⲧⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲛⲇⲓⲛⲃⲱⲕ[200] | ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲇⲓⲛⲉⲓ **25.** ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛⲥⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲃⲟⲗ ⲥ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣ̄ⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ· ⲉ̄ⲧⲣⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ | ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲥⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛⲡⲉⲥⲱⲓⲡⲉ· ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲣⲉⲥⲭⲓⲇⲟⲗ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ[201] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲭⲟⲟⲥ[202] ⲭⲉⲙ̄ⲛⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ[203] ⲥ̄ⲙⲡⲁⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓⲭⲛⲟⲩⲥ·[204] ⲉⲁⲓ̄ⲥ | ⲇⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉ̄ⲧ̄ⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲣⲧⲉ ⲉ̄ⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ̄

26. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲛ ⲭⲉⲁⲓⲭⲡⲓⲟⲩ ⲥⲱⲥ ⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛ̄|ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲉⲓ ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲛ ⲥ̄ⲛ-ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲩⲛⲟⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲥⲁⲑⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲛⲥⲗ[205] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲉ̄ⲧ̄ⲥⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲏⲑ̄ | ⲉ̄-ⲣⲟⲥ· ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ[206] ⲉⲁⲓⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲛⲁ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲁ-ⲧⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲙⲏⲏⲱⲉ ⲧⲏ|ⲣⲥ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲥ̄ⲙⲡⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ· ⲭⲉⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ*ⲉⲓ[207] ⲛⲁⲛ ⲥⲓ-ⲁⲱ ⲛⲥⲓⲏ ⲥⲓⲧⲉⲥⲓⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲭ̄ⲛⲥⲓⲧⲉⲥⲓⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲓⲉ | ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲥ̄ⲙⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ̣ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲭ̄ⲛⲥ̄ⲙⲡⲙⲉⲉ̣ⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲟⲛⲟ̄ⲥ̄·[208] **27.** *ⲁⲩⲱ[209] ⲟⲛ ⲉⲁⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲥⲟⲏⲧ ⲉⲓⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲭⲉⲱⲁⲛ|ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲗⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲭⲓⲟⲩⲁ[210] ⲛⲥⲏⲧ̄ⲕ· ⲭⲉⲉⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ[211] ⲡⲉ ⲓ̄ⲥ̄· **28.** ⲉⲕ|ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉ̄ⲛⲁⲓ ⟨ⲛ⟩ⲉⲕⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ[212] ⲡⲉ ⲭⲉⲕⲛⲁⲱ̄ⲣⲱⲃⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲱⲓⲡⲉ· ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲕ ⲭⲉⲛ⟨ⲉ⟩ⲩ̈ⲥⲟⲃ̄ⲕ[213] ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ|ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̄ⲛ ⲭⲉⲉⲕⲭⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲝ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉⲛⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲣⲉⲕ|ⲭⲓ[214] ⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ̄·

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[198] ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲟ̄ ZJ 22i.6.

[199] ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲥⲟⲩⲁⲱ̄ⲥ ZJ 22:i.7, which is preferable orthography.

[200] I.e. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲇⲓⲛⲃⲱⲕ.

[201] ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ *om.* ZJ 22:i.23, but I think the presence of ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ is to be preferred.

[202] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲥⲭⲟⲟⲥ.

[203] ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ZJ 22:i.24, which is preferable orthography.

[204] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲓⲭⲛⲟⲩⲥ ZJ 22:i.25, which is preferable orthography.

[205] I.e. ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲛⲥⲗ.

[206] I.e. ⲛⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ.

[207] *Incipit* ZX fr. 1r.

[208] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ̣ⲭ̄ⲥ̄· ⲭ̄ⲛⲥ̄ⲙⲡⲙⲉⲉ̣ⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ZJ 22:ii.11–12; ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ̣ⲭ̄ⲥ̄· ⲭ̄ⲛⲥ̄ⲛⲡⲙ[ⲉ]ⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲟⲛⲟ[ⲥ] ZX fr. 1r:i.6–8.

[209] *Incipit* WW 34.

[210] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲭⲓⲟⲩⲁ̄ ZJ 22:ii.17–18; ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲭⲓ[ⲟ]ⲩⲁ ZX fr. 1r:i.15–16, which is preferable orthography.

[211] ⲭⲉ̣[ⲉ]ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ZJ 22:ii.18–19; ⲭⲉ[ⲛ]ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ZX fr. 1r:i.16–17, which is perhaps simply an ambiguous spelling of the same text as in WW and ZJ.

[212] ⲛ̣ⲕⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ (lacuna over ⲛ̣, the traces of which also suit ⲏ, for example, but not ⲉ) ZJ 22:ii.20; ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ZX fr. 1r:i.20, which is the preferable text.

[213] ⲭⲉⲛⲉⲓⲥⲟⲃ̄ⲕ ZJ 22:ii.23; ⲭⲉⲛⲉ̈[ⲥⲟⲃ̄ⲕ] ZX fr. 1r:i.23–24, which is the preferable orthography.

[214] ⲭⲉⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲣⲉⲕⲭⲓ ZJ 22:ii.27–28; [ⲭⲉⲛⲉ]ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ *exit* ZX fr. 1r:i.29, followed by a lacuna of 18 lines (= ZX fr. 1r:ii.1–18; see further n. 217 below). ZX fr. 1r:i.19–29 may be restored as follows (see Layton 1992, 119 and pl. 71; Emmel 2002, 106 nn. 55–56): [ⲉⲕⲥ]ⲱⲧⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉ|[ⲛⲁⲓ] ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ | [ⲡⲉ ⲭ]ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲱ̄ⲣⲱ|[ⲃⲥ ⲙ̄]ⲡⲉⲥⲱⲓⲡⲉ· | [ⲡⲉⲭⲁ]ⲕ ⲭⲉⲛⲉ̈|[ⲥⲟⲃ̄ⲕ] ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ|[ⲥⲟⲟⲩ] ⲉⲧ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲩ | [ⲉⲛⲥⲥ]ⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̄ⲛ | [ⲭⲉⲉⲕ]ⲭⲱ’ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲛ|[ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ-ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲭ ⲉⲃⲟ̣ⲗ | [ⲭⲉⲛⲉ]ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ (lines 19 and 23 in ekthesis).

29. ⲏ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲃⲕ ⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ **30.** ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲛⲁⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲓϩⲩⲗ|ⲕⲓⲁ[215] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲇⲟⲧ **31.** ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲇⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩ[216] ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲓ ‖ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ†ⲛⲁⲡ̄ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ **32.** ⲙⲏ | ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲯϩⲱⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ **33.** ⲉⲃⲟⲗ[217] ⲭⲉⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲏ|ⲭⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲣⲩⲗⲏ ⲉ̄ⲧⲯⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲯⲏ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲭⲉⲣⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ|ϩⲉⲛϩⲏⲃ̄ⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲯⲱⲟⲩ·

34. ⲛ̄ⲁⲯ ⲛ̄ϩⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲗⲩⲡⲉⲓ ϩⲟⲗⲱⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲯ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉⲩ|ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲉⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫ̄ⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲛ̄ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ϩⲟⲧⲉ ϩⲏⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲇⲛⲉⲇ | ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲣⲇⲱⲧⲡ ϩⲏⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲯ ⲙ̄ ⲭⲉⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ϩⲟⲧⲉ[218] [*. . . lacuna of ca. 5 typical manuscript lines . . .*]|[.. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲡ]ⲭⲟ[ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲛ ⲭⲱ ⲙ̄]ⲙⲟⲥ [ⲭⲉⲉⲯⲭⲉⲡ]ⲕⲟ[ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲟⲥ]ⲧⲉ [ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲉ]ⲓ-ⲙⲉ | [ⲭⲉⲁⲥⲙⲉⲥ]ⲧⲱⲓ̈ [ϩⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩ]ⲏ: [ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲛ ⲭⲉⲉ]ⲯⲭⲉ[ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ]ⲓ̈ [ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ] ‖ ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ̄· ⲉⲯⲭⲉⲁⲩϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲡⲁⲯⲁⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϩⲁ[ⲣ]ⲉϩ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲱⲧⲛ̄· | [ⲁ]ⲩⲱ ⲭⲉⲉⲯⲭⲉ·ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲭⲉⲃⲉⲉⲗⲍⲉⲃⲟⲩⲗ ⲡⲟⲥⲟ[219] ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ | ⲛⲉⲥⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲏⲓ̈· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲛ ⲭⲉⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ· **35.** ⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲃⲉ|ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲙⲁϩⲣⲟⲙ̄ⲧ· ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩ·[220] ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉϩⲃⲏ[ⲩⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟ[ⲛ ⲉⲩ]ⲭⲓⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲡ[ⲯⲏⲣⲉ] | ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧ[ⲉ ⲏ ⲉ]ⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ ϩ[ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙ[ⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲉ]·ⲑⲛⲟⲥ ·[221] ⲛ[ⲉⲟⲩⲟ]ⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ̣[·] | **36.** ⲉⲯⲭⲉⲉⲧ[ⲃⲉⲡⲣⲁⲛ] ⲇⲉ ⲛⲓⲥ̄ ⲉ̣[ⲩ. . . .] ϩⲛⲛⲉⲩⲥ̣[ⲱⲯ] ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ] ⲉⲣⲟⲓ̈·[222]

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[215] ϩⲩⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ i.e. ϩⲏⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ.

[216] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩ; ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ (i.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩ) *exit* ZJ 22:ii.33, followed by a lacuna of 4 pages (= ZJ 23–26; see further n. 223 below).

[217] ⲉ[ⲃⲟⲗ *incipit* ZX fr. 1r:ii.19 (in ekthesis). ZX fr. 1r:ii.19–29 may be restored as follows (see Layton 1992, 119 and pl. 71): ⲉ[ⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ]|ⲧ[ⲣⲉⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉ]|ⲃ[ⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲛ̄]|ⲧ[ⲉⲣⲓⲭⲉⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲩ] | ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲁⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ]|ϩⲩ[ⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲯⲟⲩ]|ⲉⲓⲧ [ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄]|ⲟⲩ[ⲁⲯⲏ ⲛⲉⲓⲇⲱ]|ⲗⲟ[ⲛ ⲉⲩⲭⲉⲣⲟ ⲉ]|ⲣ[ⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲉⲛ]|[ϩⲏⲃ̄ⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲯⲱ] (ZX fr. 1v:i.1ff. are then wanting).

[218] ⲭⲉⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ϩⲟⲧⲉ *exit* WW 34:ii.28, after which no more pages of WW are presently known to survive. The first line of WW 35 will correspond approximately to ZX fr. 1v:i.14b, which is wanting (it is possible to restore ZX fr. 1v:i.14–20a with the text of Matt 10:28, [ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ϩⲟⲧⲉ ϩⲏ]|[ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁ]|[ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄]|[ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲙ] | [ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲟ]ⲩ|[ⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ϯ]ⲩ|[ⲭⲏ, but a quotation rather from the Old Testament is expected; see WW 34:ii.20–21). From here until the end of *Let Our Eyes* fr. 1, I now give the text of ZX (according to Layton's edition, with a few proposed adjustments and several new restorations), marking the beginning of every fifth line, and the second column, of ZX fr. 1v (cf. n. 144 above), starting with col. i, line 20. For the few remaining traces of ZX fr. 1v:i.1–19, see Layton 1992, 120 and pl. 72 (the trace at the end of line 12, as also in line 10, appears to be high enough above the line of writing to be from a superlinear stroke rather than from a letter).

[219] I.e. ⲡⲟⲥⲱ.

[220] I would prefer to read ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ (without any punctuation after this word).

[221] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙ[ⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲉ]·ⲑⲛⲟⲥ is Layton's restoration. The restorations of ZX fr. 1v:ii.18–28 should be taken as *exempli gratia*.

[222] *Sic exit* ZX fr. 1v:ii.29, with up to about six letters perhaps to be restored at the end of this line (if the end of the line was not left blank); no other fragments of this work in ZX are presently known to survive.

Fragment 2 (after a lacuna of ca. 5 typical manuscript pages) = ZJ 27–28

1. [---]*ⲙⲱⲧⲛ[223] ϫⲉⲁⲩϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲇⲓⲛⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲛ̅ⲯⲙⲯⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ϫⲉⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲁⲅⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲇ ⲙ̅ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ | ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ· ⲛ̅ⲟⲟⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲩϫⲱ̅[224] ⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲯⲉⲛⲃ̅ⲗⲁ-
ⲥ̀ⲫ⟨ⲏⲙ⟩ⲓⲁ ⲉ̣ⲩⲥⲱⲱ[225] ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ {ⲉ}ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲇ ⲯ̅ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ̅
ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲁ̅ⲙⲟⲙⲉ | ⲛ̅ⲟⲟⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲅⲁⲣⲣⲁⲓⲛⲁ·[226]

2. ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲯⲏⲧⲉ ϫⲉⲛⲓⲕⲉⲛⲟⲇ ⲛ̅ϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ̣ⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϫⲉ-
ⲁⲛⲣⲟ̅ ⲟⲩⲱⲛ̅ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲱⲓⲛⲉ | ϫⲉⲛ̅ⲟⲟⲉ[227] ⲛⲁⲱ ⲛ̅ⲯⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲁⲓϫⲱ̅[228] ⲛ̅ⲯⲉⲛⲱⲁϫⲉ
ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲯ ⲙ̅ⲡⲃ̅ⲗⲙ̅ⲡⲱⲓ[229] ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ϫⲛⲉⲓⲇⲛ̅ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩ | ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲁ-
ⲡⲁⲧⲏ[230] ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲡⲁⲧⲁ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲯⲛⲛⲯⲃⲏⲩⲉ· **3.** ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲓϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩ
ⲉⲓⲧ̅ⲃⲃⲟ̅ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲯⲩⲡⲱⲡⲧⲉⲩⲉ[231] | ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ϫⲉⲥⲉⲯ̅ⲙⲡⲓⲯⲱⲃ ⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲛ· ⲉⲁⲓ-
ⲉⲣ̅ⲙ̅ⲛⲧⲣⲉ[232] ϫⲉⲟⲩⲧⲉ[233] ⲯ̅ⲙⲯⲁⲗ ⲏ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲉ ⲏ ⲇⲉⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣ̅ⲩ
ⲉⲩⲏⲡ̅ ⲉⲡⲁ|ⲟⲏⲧ ⲉⲧ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̅ⲛⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲁⲁⲥ: ⲁ̣ⲩⲱ ϫⲉⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ⲱⲟⲱ̅ⲧ [ⲙ̅]ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ ⲏ ⲱⲟⲱ̅ⲧ ‖ ⲛ̅ⲱⲉ ⲏ ⳝⲟⲩⲣ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲛϫⲓⲧ̣[ⲥ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ ⲛ̅ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ̅ ϫⲉⲙ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̅ⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲁⲁ̣[ⲩ] | ⲛ̅ⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̅ⲯⲛⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲛ̅
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϫⲉⲛⲓⲣⲟ̅ ⲛ̅ⲧ̣[ⲉⲓ̈]ⲇⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲣ̅ϫ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲛ̅ϫⲟⲟⲥ
ϫⲉⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ[ⲁⲩ] | ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲩ· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛ̅ ⲉⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ[234] ⲛ̅ⲟⲟⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁ̣[ⲥ]-
ⲧⲱⲱ[235] ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲇⲓⲡⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ: ⲁⲩⲱ̅ ϫⲉⲡⲣⲟ̅ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲛⲃⲱⲕ̣[236] ⲉⲯⲟⲩⲛ | ⲛ̅ⲯⲏⲧⲥ̅
ⲉⲡ̣[ⲕ]ⲟ̣ⲓⲧⲱⲛ̣ ⲉⲧⲯ̅ⲛⲧⲙⲉⲯ[ⲥ]ⲛ̣ⲧⲉ ⲛ̅[ⲯⲏ] ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩ[ⲉⲓⲧ] ⲉⲧ̅ⲙⲙⲁⲩ
ⲕⲏ ⲛ̅ⲯⲏ[ⲧⲥ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲥⲡⲱⲣ̅ⲕ **4.** ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ̣[237] | ϫⲉⲁⲛ† ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲯⲃⲉ ⲉⲯⲟⲩⲛ
ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲥⲓ ⲉⲯⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲯ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲇⲟⲙ ⲏ ⲯ̅ⲛⲯ̅ⲛⲟⲩ[..][238] ⲏ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲥ ⲯⲉⲛⲕⲉⲯⲛⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲯ̅ⲙⲡⲧⲣⲉⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩ|ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲧ̅ⲙ ⲉⲡⲉⲟ̅ⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲯ̅ⲛⲱⲙⲓⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲯⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ̅ⲥ ⲁⲙⲁⲯⲧⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲯⲉ̣ ⲯ̅ⲙⲡⲧⲣⲉⲥⲉⲓ ⲉⲯⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲯ̅ⲙ|ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲉⲱ†ⲃⲥ
ⲁⲛⲥⲓⲧⲥ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲙⲟⲧ̅ⲛ· ⲙ̅ⲡⲛ̅ⲱⲯ̅ⲛ̅ⲙⲕⲁⲯ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̅ⲡⲛ̅ϫⲱⲣ̅ⲡ ⲛ̣[ⲗⲁⲁⲩ][239]

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[223] *Incipit* ZJ 27; I now mark the beginning of every fifth line and each new column of this manuscript (cf. n. 144 above).

[224] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩϫⲱ.

[225] ⲁ̣ⲩⲥⲱⲱ is also a possible reading.

[226] I.e. ⲙ̅ⲡⲅⲁⲣⲣⲁⲓⲛⲁ.

[227] Perhaps ⲛ̅ⲟⲟⲉ is to be deleted.

[228] *Sic* (expect ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲓϫⲱ?).

[229] I.e. ⲙ̅ⲡⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̅ⲡⲱⲓ?

[230] I.e. ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲁⲡⲁⲧⲁ (for this phenomenon, see n. 145 above).

[231] I.e. ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲯⲩⲡⲟⲡⲧⲉⲩⲉ.

[232] I.e. ⲉⲁⲓⲣ̅ⲙ̅ⲛⲧⲣⲉ.

[233] I.e. ϫⲉⲟⲩⲇⲉ.

[234] I.e. ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲟⲩ.

[235] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁ̣[ⲥ]ⲧⲱⲱ.

[236] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲃⲱⲕ̣.

[237] ⲁⲛ̣ restored by Dwight W. Young (private communication).

[238] I.e. ⲯ̅ⲛⲯⲉⲛⲟⲩ[..]? The lacuna is at the end of a line (ZJ 27:ii.22) and is not likely to have held more than one or two letters.

[239] ⲗ̅[ⲁⲁⲩ] is also a possible reading.

*ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ[240] ϩⲙ̅ⲡⲏ̈ ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲉϩ ⲛ̅ⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲛ̅ ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲏ̈ ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ: |

5. [ⲉⲩ]ⲱⲁⲛⲭⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲣⲁ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧⲉ ⲭⲉⲛⲉⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ [ⲉ]ⲡⲏ̈ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲥⲓ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ̅ ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲭⲉⲛ̅ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲏ̅ | [ⲟ]ⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ· ⲱⲁϩⲣⲁⲏ̈ [ⲉ]ⲡⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲡⲱⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲟⲩϩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ·[241]

6. ⲡⲁⲏ̈ ⲉⲧⲛⲭⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ [ⲉ]ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧ|[ⲟ]ⲩⲁⲁⲃ̅ ϩ[ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲣⲉⲥ-ⲱⲛ̅ϩⲙ[ⲟ]ⲧ ⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧⲥ̅ [ϩⲙ]ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅[ⲇⲁ]ⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲛ̅ⲑⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲛ[ⲇ]ⲛ̅ⲧⲥ̅[242] ⲉⲥⲧⲁϩⲏ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ | ϩⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ· **7.** ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲇⲱⲛ̅ⲧ ϩⲣⲁⲏ̈ ϩⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲏ̈: ⲁ̣ⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϩ ⲛⲟⲣⲅⲏ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲥⲓⲧⲟⲩ[243] | ⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧ̅ⲙⲙⲁⲩ· ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲟ̅ⲡⲥ̅ ⲣⲱ̅· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲩⲣ̅ⲡ̣ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲱⲥ̅· ϩⲛⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ-[ⲁ]ⲁⲩ·[244] ⲉⲁⲩⲧⲁⲓⲉⲟⲩⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ϩⲟⲩⲟ̅ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲏ̈[245] ⲛ̅|ϩⲏⲧⲉ· ⲉⲁⲩ-ⲱⲱⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲥⲭⲓⲟⲩⲁ̅ ⲉⲡⲣⲁⲛ̅ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲁⲛ̅ⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟ̅· [ⲁ]ⲩⲱ ⲉⲧ̅ⲣ̅-ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ || ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅· ⲉ̅ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲕⲓⲙ̅ ⲉ̅ⲡⲱϩⲛ ⲛⲁⲧⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ̅ⲙⲙⲁⲩ·

8. ⲉⲱⲭⲉⲉⲍⲉⲥⲧⲓ | ⲁⲛ ⲉϥ̣ⲓ̣ ⲛ̅ϩⲉⲛϩⲓⲕⲱ̣ⲛ̅ ⲛ̅ⲇⲁⲓ̣ⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ̅ⲡⲏ̈ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲧ̅ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲏ̅ ⲉⲍⲉⲥⲧⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛⲛⲉⲩⲣ̅ⲡⲏⲩⲉ· **9.** ⲉ|ⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉⲛⲉ̣ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲉⲣ⟨ⲣ⟩ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲉϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ {ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲟⲩ}[246] ϩⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲩⲁ-⟨ⲅⲁ⟩ⲡⲏ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲛⲟ̣ⲩ̣ⲧⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲕⲉⲛ̅ⲣⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲟⲩ | ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲱ̅ⲣ̅ⲱⲱⲣⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲛⲉⲩⲥ̅ⲛⲧⲉ· ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲟⲇⲡⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲩ⟨ⲉⲓ⟩ⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲕⲏ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ· ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲥⲓⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲙ̅|ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧ̅ⲙⲙⲁⲩ: **10.** ⲉⲛⲉⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲇⲡⲟⲩ ϩⲙ̅ⲡⲣⲡⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲛⲣⲟⲕϩⲥ̅[247] ⲙ̅ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ̅ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ· ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱ|ⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ· **11.** ⲏ̅ ⲙⲉⲱⲁⲕ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ̅ϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲇⲓⲥⲧⲁⲍⲉ· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲇⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲙ̅ⲡⲣⲡⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲧ̅ⲥⲟⲩⲱ̅|ⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲩ ϩⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧ̅ⲙⲙⲁⲩ· **12.** ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉⲁⲥⲕⲁϩⲧⲏⲥ ⲉ{ⲁ}ϩⲁϩ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ· ⲭⲓⲛ̣ⲑ̣[ⲓ]ⲕⲱⲛ[248] ⲙ̅ⲡⲍⲉⲩⲥ .[249] […][250]

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[240] *Incipit* ZJ 28.

[241] What I have read as ⲟⲩ is only the top part of a character that could be read as a certain ⲩ, but I am guessing that perhaps the bottom part of this character might be a ligatured ⲟ. If not, one would have to emend the text to ⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲟ⟨ⲟ⟩ⲩ (or, strictly speaking, ⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲟ⟨ⲟ⟩ⲩ), since this is surely what is intended here.

[242] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛ[ⲇ]ⲛ̅ⲧⲥ̅.

[243] ⲛ² was possibly corrected from ⲥ; in any case, ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲥⲥⲓⲧⲟⲩ is certainly the preferable text.

[244] ⲥ was corrected from ⲩ (or vice versa).

[245] Probably ⲉ is to be deleted.

[246] The presence of ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲟⲩ disrupts the sense, and I suspect that it was added by a copyist who did not perceive that the relative pronoun occurs later, in ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲟⲩ.

[247] I.e. ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲣⲟⲕϩⲥ̅.

[248] Restored by Dwight W. Young (private communication); also possible is ⲭⲓⲛⲟ[ⲩϩⲓ]|ⲕⲱⲛ.

[249] ⲏ̣ restored by Dwight W. Young (private communication).

[250] *Sic exit* ZJ 28:ii.33, after which no more fragments of this work are presently known to survive.

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Fig. 1: Statue of an Egyptian (Ptolemaic) naophoric priest (London, British Museum EA 65443; see Russmann 2001, 253–255, cat. no. 141).
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Fig. 2: Naos of an Egyptian (Ptolemaic) naophoric priest, containing the god Min (Bonn, BOSAE inv. no. L 885; see Blasius 2002). © Copyright Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DIE ZERSTÖRUNG DER KULTE VON PHILAE. GESCHICHTE UND LEGENDE AM ERSTEN NILKATARAKT

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I

Über 200 Jahre nach den ersten Zerstörungen paganer Tempel durch den spätantiken römischen Staat im Zuge einer neuen, christlich bestimmten religionspolitischen Agenda (unter Konstantin) und mehr als ein Jahrhundert nach der nun systematischen, reichsweiten Schließung—und teils Zerstörung—von Heiligtümern samt dem Verbot jeglicher paganer Kultpraktiken (unter der theodosianischen Dynastie) kam es an der Peripherie des römischen Reiches, im äußersten Süden der ägyptischen Grenzprovinz Thebaïs (nur wenige Kilometer nilaufwärts von Syene, dem wichtigsten Meßpunkt antiker Geographen), neuerlich zu einem staatlichen Vorgehen gegen einen bedeutenden, immer noch florierenden Tempelkomplex. Im Zuge seiner expansiven militärischen Nubienpolitik ließ Justinian, ‚der allerchristlichste Kaiser,' den letzten offiziell geduldeten paganen Kult auf Reichsboden, den der Isis auf der Tempelinsel Philae unmittelbar südlich des 1. Nilkataraktes (der seit Diokletian geltenden Reichsgrenze), von seinem General Narses—irgendwann zwischen Ende 535 und Mitte 537 n. Chr.—zerstören.[1]

Der Bericht des Historikers Prokop vom Vorgehen des Narses (Kamsarakan) in der Thebaïs bietet eine knappe quasi-offizielle Version dieses gewaltsamen Geschehens, mit dem eine der letzten religionspolitischen Anomalien auf dem Boden des Imperium ein abruptes Ende fand. Die Beseitigung dieses Zeugnisses einer eindrucksvollen und ungebrochenen religiösen Tradition auf der kleinen Tempelinsel mit ihren

[1] Proc. *Pers.* 1,19,31–37. Zum Problem der genauen Datierung der Zerstörung bzw. Beendigung des Isis- und der übrigen paganen Kulte auf Philae durch Narses grundlegend Nautin 1967, 3–6. Syene als geographischer Bezugspunkt des Eratosthenes und zugleich Definitionspunkt für Ägypten bzw. seiner Südgrenze: MacCoull 1990, 151.

imposanten, heute noch aufrechtstehenden Sakralbauten[2] stellt nicht nur als symbolträchtiges Ereignis justinianischer Politik für den Historiker eine interpretative Herausforderung dar. Hinter dem Bericht von der spektakulären Beendigung des über tausendjährigen Kultbetriebes auf Philae und der umgehenden Christianisierung des Areals verbergen sich auch eine Vielzahl offener Fragen und grundsätzlicher Probleme hinsichtlich der vorherigen religiösen Situation in diesem Raum, der Motive des Vorgehens Justinians (und seiner Vorgänger) wie vor allem auch der Rolle—und späteren Darstellung—der Gewalt im Umgang mit religiös Andersdenkenden und ihren Kultorten. Eine eingehende Analyse der gesamten verfügbaren Überlieferung zur Geschichte des Gebietes um den 1. Katarakt gibt dabei nicht nur eine Vielzahl von Paradoxien zu erkennen. Zusammengenommen läßt sie völlig unterschiedliche und miteinander kaum vereinbare Szenarien und Traditionsbildungen der Christianisierung der Region um Philae vor den Augen des Historikers erstehen. Ihnen allen ist aber gemein, daß, vor der historischen Folie einer ursprünglich friedlichen Koexistenz von Paganen und Christen in Philae, religiös motivierte Gewalt schließlich eine Schlüsselrolle bei der Durchsetzung des Christentums auf der Tempelinsel spielte—oder doch gespielt haben soll. Jene schlüsselhafte Inszenierung von Gewalt wird allerdings in den hier zu analysierenden Überlieferungen an unterschiedlicher historischer Stelle verortet; so werden zugleich gänzlich verschiedene historische Erinnerungen konstruiert und im besonderen, damit verknüpft, je spezifische legitimatorische und identitätsstiftende Zwecke verfolgt.

Eine erste Facette der Problemstellung vermag bereits der gedrängte, nur wenige Zeilen umfassende Bericht des Zeitgenossen Prokop zu veranschaulichen. Dieser notiert, daß der General Narses in Philae „auf Weisung des Kaisers die Heiligtümer niederreißen ließ, die Priester in Gewahrsam nahm, die Kultbilder aber nach Byzanz schickte." Tatsächlich wurden die Heiligtümer auf Philae aber keineswegs zerstört,

[2] Die heute zu besichtigenden Bauten befinden sich allerdings nicht mehr an ihrem ursprünglichen Ort, einem nur knapp 6 Hektar umfassenden Granitfelsen im Nil. Mit der Errichtung des Assuan-Staudammes wurde die Insel (eine hilfreiche topographische Karte, allerdings ohne Maßstab, bietet Locher 1999 als Anlage) regelmäßig von den Wassermassen überflutet und schließlich 1972–1979 alle darauf befindlichen Bauten auf die 800 m nordwestlich gelegene Insel Agilkia überführt. Grundlegend zur Geschichte und Topographie dieses Raumes in griechisch-römischer Zeit Locher 1999 (mit Plänen), ebd. 121–158 zu Philae. Einen guten Überblick bieten auch Jackson 2002, 111–128 und (knapp, mit guten Karten) Bagnall – Rathbone 2004, 237–246.

wovon sich der moderne Besucher noch heute überzeugen kann. Das zentrale Heiligtum der Isis wurde vielmehr offenbar unmittelbar in eine Kirche umgewandelt, die im ursprünglichen Pronaos der Anlage ihren Platz fand.[3] Die offizielle Version präsentierte die Beendigung des Kultbetriebes der Reichsöffentlichkeit somit als umfassende Zerstörung des gewaltigen Tempelkomplexes nebst Deportation (und zweifellos auch Zurschaustellung) der Kultbilder in der Reichshauptstadt. Vor Ort hingegen beschränkte man sich—bei weit bescheidenerem Aufwand und, wie zu zeigen sein wird, unter anderer propagandistischer Perspektive—, auf die flüchtige Desakralisierung und gründliche Ausräumung des Heiligtums mit folgender Umwidmung eines Bauteiles in eine christliche Kirche.

Dabei verdeutlicht der weitere Kontext des Berichtes wie auch die Information von der Gefangennahme der Priester, daß das Vorgehen gegen den Isis-Kult auf Philae keinesfalls primär religionspolitischen Motiven Justinians entsprang. Der Kaiser verfolgte vielmehr angesichts der jüngsten Schwächung der grenznah siedelnden (und traditionell eine Bedrohung der Thebaïs darstellenden) Blemmyer und Nobader durch den Aufstieg des Nubierreiches im Süden eine nun offensive Politik gegenüber jenen Nomadenstämmen, denen seinerzeit Diokletian für die Durchführung ihrer religiösen Riten die teilweise Kontrolle der Tempelinsel eingeräumt hatte.[4] Die Festsetzung und nicht schlichte Vertreibung der blemmyschen Priester galt deren politischer und kommunikativer Wirksamkeit in der Grenzregion, und das Agieren des hochrangigen Militärs Narses wie auch intensive diplomatische Bemühungen Justinians im äthiopisch-südarabischen Raum insgesamt verweisen auf weitreichende machtpolitische Ambitionen des Kaisers im Süden seines Reiches.

Die knappe Diskussion zeigt exemplarisch, daß die Zerstörung von Tempeln und das gewaltsame Ende von Kulten Phänomene darstel-

[3] Zur baulichen Situation und ihrer Interpretation siehe grundlegend Nautin 1967 und darauf fußend, aber mit wichtigen differenzierenden Beobachtungen zu den Phasen der christlichen Eingriffe und ihrer chronologisch-historischen Aussage, Grossmann 1987. Vgl. Grossmann 2002, 47f.

[4] Zur quellenmäßig nur sehr lückenhaft bezeugten und deshalb schwer zu bewertenden machtpolitischen Konstellation und deren Veränderungen südlich der Reichsgrenze, die bis zum 3. Jahrhundert (und seinem Niedergang) noch durch das Reich von Meroe bestimmt worden waren, siehe Török 1985 und Török 1988, passim. Das Vorgehen Justinians in Philae ist im übrigen nur ein Element im Zuge einer großangelegten Strategie im Süden des Imperiums, die nicht nur Äthiopien, sondern auch Südarabien umfaßte: s. Proc. *Pers.* 1,19f.; Hardy 1968.

len, die sich dem analytischen Zugriff des Historikers nur allzu leicht entwinden können. Denn bedeuten sie auch spektakuläre und daher von Zeitgenossen stark beachtete Ereignisse, so erweist sich ihre Bezeugung in den Quellen, wie auch die anderen Beiträge dieses Bandes eindrücklich zeigen, für eine fokussierende *historische* Betrachtung nur ausnahmsweise geeignet. Denn ihre Schilderung und Deutung erscheint in unserer Überlieferung aus vielfältigen Gründen überlagert und gebrochen. Die präzisen Umstände und Abläufe, ja bereits die exakte zeitliche Verortung solcher Ereignisse bleiben fast immer im Dunkeln, Beteiligte, Gründe und Motive werden nur selten eingehend benannt.[5] All dieser Informationen und Bezüge bedarf aber der Historiker, will er übergreifende, über das vordergründige Geschehen und seine unmittelbare Wirkung hinausreichende Fragen verfolgen: wie die nach Sachzusammenhängen, relevanten lokalen Konstellationen, tieferliegenden Ursachen und Intentionen der dramatischen Eskalation religiöser Konflikte—die ja immer auch gesellschaftliche und politische Konflikte darstellen oder doch spiegeln.

Die Zerstörung der paganen Kulte auf der Nilinsel Philae stellt nun einen der ganz wenigen Fälle dar, wo es aufgrund einer vergleichsweise dichten Überlieferung—historiographische, inschriftliche, papyrologische und archäologische Zeugnisse sowie eine hagiographische Tradition—jedenfalls ausschnitthaft möglich erscheint, die Frage nach der historischen Einordnung und Bewertung eines solchen Geschehens zu stellen. Im weiteren können dabei, auf der Basis einer kritischen Betrachtung der Quellen, allerdings nur einzelne mit der Kultzerstörung verbundene Bedeutungshorizonte diskutiert werden. Im Mittelpunkt soll die Darstellung, vor allem aber (zunächst) die kirchenpolitische Instrumentalisierung der gewaltsamen Überwindung der Kulte auf Philae und schließlich deren gänzlich anders geartete Rezeption und Ausdeutung in einer eigenständigen lokalen Tradition stehen. Zu thematisieren ist hierfür die geographische Ausstrahlung des Isis-Kultes, das Problem der Stellung des Bischofs von Philae in der Region, die Anfänge der episkopalen Sukzession Philaes (wie die der Christianisierung der Insel insgesamt) und die Rolle der Gewaltanwendung gegen pagane Kulte und Kultorte.

[5] Siehe hierzu in diesem Band auch 338ff.

II

Die von Justinian um 535/7 befohlene Zerstörung bzw. Schließung des großen Isis-Tempels auf Philae, also rund ein Jahrhundert nach den Tempelzerstörungsdekreten Theodosius II., beseitigte den letzten noch offiziell geduldeten Tempelkult auf dem Boden des Imperium—ein letztes Bollwerk des Heidentums, wie es in der Literatur nicht selten heißt.[6] Damit fand eine religionspolitische Anomalie ein Ende, die sich seit ihrer Installierung durch Kaiser Diokletian allein außenpolitischen Motiven verdankte und der Stabilisierung der fragilen Südgrenze des Reiches dienen sollte.

Die Verehrung der Isis—und weiterer indigener Gottheiten—auf Philae war nämlich zuallererst religiöse Praxis von Nachbarvölkern im Süden.[7] Denn die Tempelinsel war seit mindestens einem Jahrtausend Bestandteil einer distinkten sakralen Geographie, die sich über die gesamte Dodekáschoinos (das ‚Zwölfmeilenland'—ein Landstreifen beiderseits des Nils von ca. 135 km Länge, zwischen Syene und Takompso/Hierosykaminos) erstreckte. Philae, früher zusammen mit Elephantine, bildete hier als offizielles Prozessionsziel und als Pilgerstätte des (erstmals im 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. am Ort mit einem Heiligtum bezeugten[8]) Isis-Kultes die nördliche Peripherie und repräsentierte zudem in diesem regelrechten Kultnetzwerk den bedeutendsten Tempelkomplex, nachdem es spätestens in römischer Zeit den nahegelegenen Chnum-Tempel von Elephantine der Bedeutung nach verdrängt hatte. Die Insel war damit nichts weniger als ein erstrangiger religiöser Bezugspunkt der in jener Region befindlichen äthiopischen Staatenbildungen und Stämme: also zunächst Meroes, dann der Nobader und Blemmyer. Seine exponierte geographische Lage hatte allerdings in spätägyptischer wie in ptolemäischer Zeit—und dann in römischer Zeit—auch zur Folge, daß die Kontrolle über die Tempelinsel strittig war und verschiedentlich wechselte. Den nachhaltigen südlichen Einfluß spiegelt etwa die dauerhafte Etablierung von eigenständigen Tempeln der äthiopischen Gottheit Arensuphis und des (wohl blemmyschen) Manul-Mandaules

[6] Siehe, *exempli gratia*, Bagnall 1993, 147; Richter 2002, 116.

[7] Zum Kult der Isis von Philae in der Spätantike Witt 1971, 61–65; Trombley 1993–1994, 2:225–240; Frankfurter 1998, 98–106; Rutherford 1998; Dijkstra 2005, Kap. 3 („Philae as a Nubian Holy Place").

[8] Zu den Anfängen des Isis-Kultes auf Philae (wie auch dem der anderen dortigen Kulte) siehe Giammarusti – Roccati 1980; Winter 1982.

auf Philae.[9] Ähnliche Konstellationen von Kulten finden sich in verschiedenen der zahlreichen Tempelkomplexe des ‚Zwölfmeilenlandes' nach Süden, etwa in Kertassi und Kalabscha. Unter den Ptolemäern gewann die volkstümliche griechische (wenn auch kaum zutreffende) Etymologie des Namens Philae als ‚freundlich' an Popularität; sie explizierte das politische Ziel der friedlichen Koexistenz Ägyptens mit seinen Nachbarn an der Südgrenze.[10]

Die weite Ausstrahlung Philaes als Kultzentrum, dessen Bestand an Tempeln in römischer Zeit weiter ausgebaut wurde—auf Augustus, Trajan und Hadrian geht die Errichtung repräsentativer Monumentalarchitektur zurück –, hat sich jedoch vor allem in Graffiti niedergeschlagen, die Pilger auf den Wänden der Tempelbauten hinterließen. Die vielen Hundert Pilgerinschriften und Graffiti, in Meroitisch, in Hieroglyphenschrift, Demotisch, Koptisch und Griechisch verfaßt, geben zu erkennen, daß die Tempelinsel neben Pilgern aus dem Süden vornehmlich ägyptische Gläubige anzog.[11] Demotische—später zudem koptische—Texte dominieren in der Kaiserzeit, Philae besaß mithin ein starke lokale und regionale, dabei insbesondere grenzüberschreitende Ausstrahlung. Griechische Pilger und von ihnen hinterlassene Texte spielen in der Spätantike hingegen keine größere Rolle.

Unlängst hat Ian Rutherford diese Zeugnisse neuerlich systematisch untersucht und die zeitlichen Phasen wie auch die geographische Reichweite und die spezifischen Profile dieses spirituellen Pilgerbetriebs analysiert.[12] Obwohl griechische Graffiti zu den frühesten datierbaren zählen, herrschen die demotischen Texte, die kaum nur von Einheimischen verfaßt worden sind, vor—ein ungewöhnlicher Umstand angesichts ihres fast völligen Fehlens in großen ägyptischen Heiligtümern wie in Abydos oder Deir el-Bahari, hingegen ihrer weiten

[9] Rutherford 1998, 232f. mit Belegen und weiterführender Literatur.

[10] Zur Etymologie siehe zusammenfassend Locher 1999, 121f. und Richter 2002, 115.

[11] Neben den monumentalen Sakralbauten und ihren Wandreliefs sind die Graffiti die hervorragende Quelle für den Isis-Kult der Kaiserzeit bis in die Spätantike und seine überregionale Ausstrahlung: Bernand 1969, 35–393 (= *IPhilae* II 128–322) und Griffith 1935–1937, 1:42–130 (= *Graff. Philae* 1–450) stellen die grundlegenden Editionen der griechischen und demotischen Graffiti dar; Hoffmann 2000, 233–242 bietet eine Auswahl wichtiger spätantiker demotischer Graffiti Philaes mit deutscher Übersetzung.

[12] Rutherford 1998. Siehe nun auch Dijkstra 2005, 37ff. Zu einer speziellen Gruppe von Isis-Weihungen Takács 2005, hier für Philae 360–362.

Verbreitung in Tempeln der Dodekáschoinos bis tief in den Süden.[13] Zumal die meroitischen Graffiti der Kaiserzeit—nicht wenige von ihnen datiert—bezeugen die außerordentliche religiöse Bedeutung Philaes für die Bevölkerung Äthiopiens. Einzelne hochgestellte meroitische Familien sind als Verehrer der Isis von Philae über Generationen bis ins 3. Jahrhundert bezeugt, scheinen aber zugleich auch in offizieller Funktion zum Heiligtum und nach Ägypten gereist zu sein. Anlaß der Reise und der Weihung sind immer wieder die bedeutenden auf der Tempelinsel gefeierten Isisfeste.

Schließlich ist Philae aber auch, ungeachtet seiner peripheren Lage, als erstrangiger Verehrungsort der verbliebenen paganen ‚hellenischen' Eliten Ägyptens und Alexandrias im christlichen Imperium bezeugt: Für einen Zeitpunkt gegen 486 n. Chr. wird dies in einer neuplatonischen Biographie als gängige Praxis dokumentiert.[14] Philae als Fokus spätantiker paganer Frömmigkeit hat so auch einige der spätesten Schriftzeugnisse der Sprachen des Raumes insgesamt bewahrt: Die späteste datierte pagane griechische Inschrift aus Ägypten (456/7 n. Chr.) stammt ebenso von der Tempelinsel wie das letzte datierte hieroglyphische und demotische Schriftzeugnis (394 n. Chr. bzw. 12. Dez. 452 n. Chr.) überhaupt.[15] Insbesondere dokumentieren diese Graffiti die eminente Bedeutung Philaes als Wallfahrtsort und Bezugspunkt religiöser Identität gleich mehrerer Kulturen und Stämme, gerade auch von außerhalb des Reichsterritoriums—und dies zu einer Zeit, als andernorts in der römischen Provinz kein paganer Kultbetrieb mehr möglich war.[16]

Der internationale Charakter der Tempelinsel und ihres Heiligtums wurde zudem ausdrücklich im Zuge der Neuziehung der römischen Südgrenze in Ägypten durch Diokletian anerkannt: Nachdem die

[13] Rutherford 2003; Rutherford 1998, 240.

[14] Marin. *Procl.* 19 mit ausdrücklicher Bezeugung der anhaltenden (griechischen) Verehrung der Isis von Philae. Vgl. auch den detaillierten Bericht des Historikers Olympiodoros von Theben von seinem Besuch Philaes und Begegnungen mit blemmyischen ‚Propheten' um 421 n. Chr.; hierzu Trombley 1993–1994, 2:233f.

[15] *IPhilae* II 199 (Bernand 1969, 248–251); *Graff. Philae* 436 (Griffith 1937, 1:126–127) und 365 (ebd., 102–103; hierzu Hoffmann 2000, 242: „von einer wirklichen Beherrschung des Demotischen kann keine Rede mehr sein. Er enthält einige böse Schreibfehler und besteht überhaupt fast nur aus Namen und Titeln"); beachte Cruz – Uribe 2002. Auch meroitische Graffiti wurden noch lange nach dem Ende der Dynastie angebracht. Burckhardt 1984, 83.

[16] Zahlreiche demotische Inschriften datieren in den Monat Choiak (27. Nov.–26. Dez.), der als vierter Monat der Nilflut zugleich das Fest der Isis umfaßte; Bonneau 1964, 368ff.

Dodekáschoinos über drei Jahrhunderte (seit Augustus) römisches Territorium gewesen war, von Diokletian aber aufgegeben werden mußte, zog dieser Kaiser ca. 295–300 n. Chr. die Grenze und das römische Militär an den 1. Katarakt nach Syene und das noch vor den Stromschnellen liegende Philae zurück. Das Isis-Heiligtum auf der Tempelinsel ‚reorganisierte' Diokletian als gemeinsame Kultstätte für Römer, Blemmyer und Nobader:

> Diokletian fand auch eine Insel im Nil, dicht bei der Stadt Elephantine, und ließ darauf eine sehr starke Festung anlegen. Bei dieser Gelegenheit errichtete er hier auch gemeinsame Heiligtümer und Altäre für die Römer und die Barbaren und bestellte Priester jeder Seite in dieser Festung. Durch den gemeinsamen Besitz der Heiligtümer glaubte er zwischen den Völkern eine dauernde Freundschaft begründen zu können. Er nannte deshalb auch den Ort Philae. Beide Völkerschaften, Blemmyer wie Nobader, verehren all die anderen Götter, an welche die Hellenen glauben, dazu auch die Isis und den Osiris.[17]

Vor dieser spezifischen Situation blieb die kaiserliche Religionsgesetzgebung seit Constantius II. an diesem Ort grenzüberschreitender Kultfrömmigkeit ebenso ohne Bedeutung wie auch jegliche Maßnahmen der theodosianischen Dynastie gegen den Tempelkult im Orient oder in Ägypten.[18] Noch im Jahre 451/2 wurde, nach neuerlichen militärischen Auseinandersetzungen in der Grenzzone, vertraglich für 100 Jahre festgeschrieben, zu welchen Zeiten sich die Nobader und Blemmyer das Kultbild der Isis ausleihen und es nach Süden—wohl nach Dendur—verbringen durften.[19]

Diese historischen Bemerkungen sind notwendig, um die eigentümliche Stellung des Kultkomplexes auf Philae im christlichen Imperium—aber auch seine weitere Geschichte im Zuge der Christianisierung—zu verstehen: Ungeachtet vereinzelter Besuche heidnischer Intellektueller aus Alexandria oder anderer Reisender aus dem Norden—und übrigens auch unbeschadet der außerordentlichen Popularität der Isis-Verehrung in der Kaiserzeit im Reich (die Isis von Philae beanspruchte hier nie eine prominente Rolle!)—besaßen die Kulte Philaes Bedeutung zunächst für eine außerrömische Bevölkerung. Blemmyische Priester versahen

[17] Proc. *Pers.* 1,19,34f. (übers. O. Veh, mit Änderungen).

[18] Trombley 1993–1994, 2:232 meint allerdings in einer demotischen Inschrift einen Anhaltspunkt für die Auswirkung der Promulgation des Codex Theodosianus am 15. Februar 435 und den darin zusammengefaßten Bestimmungen gegen pagane Kultpraktiken und Tempel erkennen zu können.

[19] Prisc. fr. 21 (= Eide 1994–2000, 3:1153–1158 Nr. 318).

den Kult der Isis, und die letzte uns in Inschriften vielgliedrig faßbare Priesterfamilie war ebensolcher Abstammung.[20] Auf der Insel war der eigentliche Prozessionsweg und Zugang zum großen Isis-Heiligtum so auch von Süden her angelegt: Von einer repräsentativen Anlegestelle im Süden der Insel erfolgte er über eine breite, kolonnadengesäumte Prachtstraße, welche die Hauptachse zum Tempel und dem 1. Pylon als Eingangsbereich zum Isis-Heiligtum bildete (Abb. 1 auf 241). Zugleich besaß die Insel, jenseits ihrer religiösen Bedeutung, eine erstrangige kulturelle und politische Brückenfunktion in den Süden, bildete die natürliche Scharnierstelle zwischen dem durch den Nil miteinander verbundenen Oberägypten und Unternubien, in dem die Dodekáschoinos einschließlich Philae, Syene und Elephantine zu allen Zeiten die intensivste Kontaktzone darstellte.

III

Kaum zu beantworten ist die Frage, in welchem Umfang und unter Beteiligung welcher Gruppen zum Zeitpunkt der Intervention Justinians in Philae die verschiedenen paganen Kulte—und hier der Isis-Kult im besonderen—auf der Tempelinsel (noch) gepflegt wurden. Der vermeintlich deutliche Rückgang der (datierten) Texte im Heiligtum im 5. Jahrhundert wird des öfteren mit einem sukzessiven Bedeutungsverlust der Kulte erklärt—doch wurde jüngst auch, auf der Basis der Neuinterpretation eines Papyrus, ein Fortleben der Isis-Verehrung auf Philae sogar über Justinian hinaus postuliert.[21] Angesichts der inhärenten Probleme der philaenischen Epigraphik und des Fehlens aussagekräftiger literarischer oder papyrologischer Zeugnisse sind kaum belastbare Feststellungen möglich.

Außer Frage steht, daß das Vorgehen des Narses einen radikalen und nachhaltigen Einschnitt in der Kulttradition der Insel bedeutete—und einen solchen vor Ort auch signalisieren sollte. Theodoros, der zu diesem Zeitpunkt seit etwa einem Jahrzehnt amtierende Bischof der

[20] Siehe unten Anm. 61.

[21] Einen Niedergang des Kultes (samt Umzugs der Priesterschaft zu den Blemmyern nach 435 n. Chr.) meinte bereits Wilcken 1901 zu erkennen; Dijkstra 2004 deutet eine schwer verständliche Petition (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67004) als Beleg für eine Isis-Verehrung von Blemmyern auf Philae noch im Jahr 567 n. Chr.

Gemeinde Philaes,[22] bemächtigte sich nach Ausweis der Inschriften in spektakulärer Weise des zentralen Heiligtumskomplexes der Insel: Das Isis-Heiligtum wurde unmittelbar christianisiert, in seinem Pronaos samt Säulenvorhof eine Kirche unter dem Patrozinium des Protomärtyrers Stephan eingerichtet. Die Platzierung der neuen Kirche im Herzen des Isis-Heiligtums bedeutete dabei nicht den einzigen außerordentlichen Aspekt. Diese Kirche beanspruchte zugleich auch, unmittelbar ein eben noch aktives paganes Heiligtum auszulöschen und durch ein christliches Gotteshaus zu ersetzen—ein Vorgehen, das in der gesamten Spätantike, jedenfalls nach den uns verfügbaren Befunden, in dieser Weise ohne Beispiel ist. Die Überwindung des Heidentums fand mit dieser Tempelumwandlung und der Etablierung einer Kirche gerade im Allerheiligsten des Isis-Tempels hierüber gleichermaßen sinnfälligen wie aggressiven Ausdruck. Und nicht nur dies: Mit der Einrichtung der Kirche im Heiligtum nach der gewaltsamen Beendigung des Isis-Kultes bemächtigte sich Theodoros und seine Gemeinde im selben Zug zugleich auch des öffentlichen Raums der Tempelinsel, besetzte und markierte doch der gewaltige Isis-Komplex mit breiter Prozessionsstraße, Pylonen, Vorhof, Nebengebäuden und auch dem von der Temenosmauer eingefaßten Areal auf dem kleinen Eiland eben jenen Raum und die weitläufigen Freiflächen.

Erst die gewaltsame Beendigung des Isis-Kultes durch Justinian gestattete der philaenischen Gemeinde in der Person ihres Bischofs Theodoros—unversehens und in spektakulärer Weise—die Inbesitznahme des öffentlichen Raumes, ja die sakrale Übernahme der Tempelinsel ingesamt. Diese wurde in der Folgezeit mit verschiedenen repräsentativen Kirchenbauten versehen, darunter auch weiteren Einbauten in vormalige Tempel.[23] Die Einrichtung der Stephanoskirche im Pronaos bzw. Säulenhof des Isis-Tempels ist—auch wenn darüber keine letzte Gewißheit bestehen kann—sicherlich unmittelbar der Aufhebung der paganen Kultaktivitäten auf Philae durch Narses gefolgt. Dies legt

[22] Zur Person und Karriere (mit den Belegen) grundlegend Maspero 1909, weiterhin Nautin 1967, 8.

[23] Übersichtliche Zusammenstellung bei Richter 2002, 124ff. (mit Diskussion). Die Chronologie dieser Kirchen und eventueller Vorgängerbauten ist allerdings nicht gesichert. Zumindest die weitläufige Ostkirche dürfte gleichfalls auf Bischof Theodoros zurückgehen, sofern ein Baufragment mit der inschriftlichen Bezeugung seines Namens tatsächlich von hier stammt; Richter 2002, 127 (wobei die hier gebotenen Datierungsüberlegungen von unhaltbaren historischen Prämissen ausgehen). Vgl. auch unten Anm. 36.

zunächst bereits der Wortlaut der von Theodoros gesetzten Inschriften nahe (hierzu unten). Aber auch die unaufwendige Installation des Kirchenraums mit Einzug nur weniger Querwände nach zuvor gründlicher Zerstörung der Götter- und Königsfiguren des ursprünglichen Dekors, allerdings mit Ausnahme der durch die eingezogenen Wände verdeckten Wandpartien, läßt kaum einen anderen Schluß zu.[24] Bemerkenswert ist dabei die ungemein bescheidene Größe des so entstandenen Kirchenbaues, dessen programmatische Wirkung ganz auf der Wahl des exponierten Ortes beruhte: Die lichte Gesamtbreite betrug nicht mehr als 8,60 m, die lichte Weite des Mittelschiffs gar nur 2,20 m (Abb. 2 auf 242). In diesem bescheidenen, von massiven Säulen beherrschten Kirchenraum, der kaum mehr als einigen Dutzend Gläubigen Platz für einen Gottesdienst bieten konnte, versammelte sich die philaenische Gemeinde unter ihrem Bischof und zugleich unter dem Schutz des ersten paganer Gewaltanwendung zum Opfer gefallenen Glaubenszeugen in der Geschichte der Kirche.

Beredte Zeugnisse für das Vorgehen und die damit verbundenen Intentionen des Bischofs unmittelbar nach der religiösen Transformation stellen wiederum eine Handvoll Inschriften dar, die an markanten Punkten des Baus angebracht wurden. Diese besetzten als Reliefs die Durchgänge zum Säulenhof, waren hier großformatig in Augenhöhe platziert und für jeden Besucher auf dem Weg zum Allerheiligsten des vormaligen Isis-Tempels—nun eine Kirche—unübersehbar. Nicht zufällig besetzten sie hierbei zugleich den früheren Prozessionsweg der Isis-Priester unmittelbar vor dem ἄδυτον.[25] So las man nun am Durchgang des Nordpylons außen zunächst:

> Dieser *topos* wurde im Namen der heiligen und wesensgleichen Trinität als Haus des heiligen Stephanos unter unserem Vater, dem sehr von Gott

[24] Dies ist—partiell gegen Nautin 1967—die überzeugende Beobachtung und Folgerung von Grossmann 1987, 115 auf der Basis der sorgfältigen Untersuchung der Bauspuren. So auch Richter 2002, der sich allenfalls einen Zeitraum von einem Jahr bis zur Installation der Kirche vorstellen kann. Die vorzügliche Bauaufnahme Grossmann 1987—Nautin 1967 hatte den Schwerpunkt seiner Aufnahme auf die Inschriften gelegt—erübrigt eine weitere Diskussion der architektonischen Details an dieser Stelle.

[25] Der Plan des Isis-Tempels in Lyons 1908, Taf. 5 markiert die Orte dieser Inschriften mit a–g und verdeutlicht auf einen Blick deren visuell-strategische Anbringung am und im zentralen Durchgangskorridor des vormaligen Heiligtums (abgebildet auch in Nautin 1967, 10 als Abb. 6). Ausführlich zu den Inschriften und ihrer Platzierung Nautin 1967, 13ff.; Bernand 1969, 256ff.

geliebten Bischof Apa Theodoros geweiht. Möge Gott ihn für sehr lange Zeit schützen.[26]

Gleich dahinter, im Durchgang selbst, besagte eine Inschrift, „Theodoros hat diesen Tempel umgestaltet in ein Heiligtum des heiligen Stephanos; zum Guten, durch die Macht Christi." Die aggressive Intention dieser Texte enthüllt sich aber erst durch ihre ikonographische Ausgestaltung und symbolische Einbindung: Über dem ersten Text wurde ein fast 30 cm großes erhabenes Kreuz vertieft in einem doppelten, ornamental gearbeiteten Kreis als Rahmen eingemeißelt, wobei das christliche Symbol zugleich eine nur oberflächlich abgearbeitete, gut erkennbare Götterfigur zu seiner Seite exorziert.

Kreuze befinden sich gleich mehrfach an allen Theodoros-Inschriften, die wiederum durchgängig auf reliefierten kultischen Bilddarstellungen des Vorgängerkultes angebracht worden sind. Sie sind—ornamental aufwendig gearbeitet—zudem an zahlreichen Stellen mitten in die älteren sakralen Bildreliefs und Kartuschen platziert. Am rückwärtigen Tor des Pronaos, dem Eingang zum früheren Naos des Isis-Tempels, ist rechterhand ein dem oben beschriebenen Kreuz ähnliches Kreuzsymbol eingemeißelt und in großen Buchstaben unterschrieben: + ὁ σταυρὸς ἐνίκησεν. ἀεὶ νικᾷ + + + –„Das Kreuz hat gesiegt. Es wird immer siegen!" Im skizzierten räumlichen und ornamentalen Kontext signalisiert diese Akklamation unzweideutig das triumphalistische Selbstverständnis des Urhebers und Gründers der Kirche. Sie deklariert die Einrichtung des christlichen Sakralbaus im vormals paganen Hauptheiligtum als Bezwingung des Vorgängerkultes, ja des Paganismus insgesamt. Die Wahl gerade des Stephanos als Patron der Kirche entspringt derselben Überzeugung.

Neben den mit großen Kreuzzeichen versehenen Theodoros-Inschriften finden sich zahlreiche weitere Kreuze an hervorgehobenen Stellen des umgewidmeten Kultbaus. Sie legen eine Deutung als zugleich

[26] Ἐγένετο ὁ τόπος οὗτος | ἐν ὀνό[ματι τῆς ἁγίας κ]αὶ | ὁμοουσί[ου Τριάδος οἴ]κος | τοῦ [ἁγίου Στεφάνου ἐ]πὶ τ[οῦ θεοφιλ(εστάτου) πατρὸς ἡμ]ῶν | τ[οῦ ἄπα Θεοδώρου τ]οῦ | ἐ[πισκόπου · ὁ θεὸς αὐτ]ὸν | δι[αφυλάξῃ ἐπὶ μή]κισ | [τον] χρό[νον]. *IPhilae* II 200 mit dem Kommentar von Bernand 1969, 251–256 (Nautin 1967, 11–14 mit Abb. 7). Eine verwandte Formulierung in *IPhilae* II 202 (Nautin 1967, 16f. mit Abb. 9) sowie auch 203: „Durch die Güte unseres Herrn Christus: der sehr von Gott geliebte Bischof Apa Theodoros hat diesen Tempel umgestaltet in ein Heiligtum des heiligen Stephanos; zum Guten, durch die Macht Christi, unter dem sehr frommen Diakonus und Vorsteher Posias" (mit Kommentar von Bernand 1969, 263ff.; Nautin 1967, 17–20 mit Abb. 10; Lee 2000, 141f.).

apotropäische Symbole nahe—eine durch zahlreiche Parallelen gut bezeugte Praxis im Zusammenhang der Profanierung, aber auch der unmittelbaren Aneignung paganer Heiligtümer durch Christen oder die Kirche, die selbst in die theodosianische Gesetzessammlung als übliches Verfahren Eingang fand.[27] Paganer Herkunft ist selbst der Altar im Kirchenraum. Auch er wurde durch Anbringung eines Kreuzzeichens christianisiert und signalisierte damit ebenso demonstrativ wie triumphalistisch die dezidiert gewaltsame Aneignung der paganen Stätte und die unwiderrufliche Überwindung der schreckenbringenden Handlungen am Opfertisch als ihres zentralen Ritualortes.[28]

Die einem klaren Konzept folgende Ausgestaltung und Anbringung sowie das weitgehend einheitliche Textformular der Theodoros-Inschriften vermitteln eine unzweideutige Botschaft: Es ist der Sieg des christlichen Glaubens, des Kreuzes, vermittelt, ja bewerkstelligt durch die Person des Bischofs Theodoros, von dem das Monument des früheren Isis-Tempels nun kündet. Und schließlich muß hervorgehoben werden: Griechisch ist die Sprache des christlichen Triumphes und seines Bischofs in Philae, nicht eine der früher vorherrschenden Kultsprachen. Dies ist zugleich ein deutlicher Hinweis auf die bei der Unterwerfung der paganen Kulte Philaes von außen wirksamen Kräfte, kaiserliche Beamte und Soldaten. Die ausschließliche Verwendung des Griechischen in den im vormaligen Hauptheiligtum der Isis angebrachten Inschriften besagt—in einem Umfeld, in dem selbst die Mehrheit der christlichen Gläubigen wohl nicht Griechisch als Umgangssprache benutzte—zugleich etwas über die Intention des Bischofs hinsichtlich der künftigen Außenwirkung des heiligen Ortes: Er zielt, wie auch der Zusatz ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος deutlich macht, auf die im Sinne des Kaisers rechtgläubige christliche Reichsbevölkerung—schließt aber etwa die (heidnischen) Blemmyer und Nobader, welche bislang das Kultleben auf Philae so nachhaltig bestimmt und hier sogar eigenes Kultpersonal installiert hatten, dezidiert aus.

Philae als internationaler, nach Süden weit offener Wallfahrtsort hörte damit auf zu existieren. Der Versuch einer Kultadaption, die

[27] *Cod. Theod.* 16,10,25 (14. Nov. 435 n. Chr.): *cunctaque… templa delubra, si qua etiam nunc restant integra, praecepto magistratuum destrui conlocationeque venerandae Christianae religionis signi expiari praecipimus.* Zur Praxis in Philae siehe Nautin 1967, 14ff. Beachte weiterhin Engemann 1975; Trombley 1993–1994, 1:102ff. und passim (mit weiteren Belegen) sowie zum Zusammenhang von Tempelzerstörung und Tempelreinigung (inkl. Exorzismus) Hahn 2000.

[28] Nautin 1967, 27f. 37 mit Abb. 19f.; Grossmann 1987, 111 mit Anm. 22.

ernsthaft versucht hätte, die Stämme südlich der Reichsgrenze als bisher dominierende Klientel des Heiligtums weiter an die Stätte zu binden, wurde nicht unternommen. Anknüpfungsmöglichkeiten hätten, wie ein Blick auf ein anderes bedeutendes, schließlich christianisiertes Isis-Heiligtum zeigt, wohl bestanden oder doch geschaffen werden können: Die Verehrungs-, Orakel- und Inkubationsstätte der ‚Herrin Isis' von Menouthis konnte, nach zunächst erfolglosen Transformationsversuchen des Vorgängers, von Bischof Kyrill von Alexandria (412–444 n. Chr.) mit bemerkenswertem Erfolg in ein wirkungsähnliches christliches Zentrum überführt werden. Die angeblich traumgeleitete ‚Auffindung' von Reliquien zweier Märtyrer, Kyros und Johannes, gestattete es dem Bischof, in einer durchdachten und wohlinszenierten glaubenspolitischen Aktion in Menouthis einen Kult zu installieren, den Kyrill in Predigten als wahres ἰατρεῖον propagierte—mit bemerkenswertem Erfolg, wie die weitere Entwicklung zeigte.[29] Die Inbesitznahme Philaes und seines Hauptheiligtums durch Bischof Theodoros zeigt nichts dergleichen; die Widmung der Kirche an den Protomärtyrer Stephanos besagt das exakte Gegenteil und unterstreicht die kompromißlos-exklusive neue Identität des neuen Kultes.

Der religiöse Umbruch auf der Tempelinsel bedeutete zweifelsfrei einen enormen Prestigegewinn für den Bischof dieser peripheren Diözese—die Inschriften verkündeten seinen Ruhm und waren für jeden Besucher des früheren Hauptheiligtums unübersehbar, mochte auch die im Isis-Tempel installierte Kirche ein bemerkenswert bescheidenes christliches Gotteshaus darstellen. Doch erst in Zusammenschau mit weiteren Quellen wird offensichtlich, daß dieser Bischof, Theodoros, im Kontext der Auslöschung der alten Kulte Philaes einen weit über die kleine Tempelinsel hinausreichenden Zuwachs an Bedeutung und Macht verbuchen konnte. Die Politik Justinians, die in Philae außenpolitisch auf die angrenzenden Herrschaftsräume der Blemmyer und Nobader gezielt hatte, widmete sich in den kommenden Jahren dem Neuaufbau intensiver diplomatischer Beziehungen in den Süden und Südosten. Getragen wurde diese politische Strategie von massiven, alsbald auch erfolgreichen Christianisierungsanstrengungen südlich des 1. Kataraktes. Diese wiederum sollte eben jener Theodoros von Philae vorantreiben und koordinieren, dessen über 50jähriger Episkopat (von etwa 525 bis

[29] Cyr. Alex. *hom. div.* 18 (*PG* 77, col. 1105). Hierzu Takács 1994; Montserrat 1998.

nach 577 n. Chr.) die lange Regierungszeit Justinians (527–565) zeitlich beiderseits sogar noch überflügelte.[30]

Ein wichtiges Zeugnis dieses Wirkens des Theodoros ist eine in der Dodekáschoinos, in Dendur—also 70 km südlich von Philae—gefundene koptische Bauinschrift. Sie berichtet von der auf Befehl des nubischen Königs Eirpanome vollzogenen Gründung einer Kirche im Inneren des großen Isis-Heiligtums von Dendur. Errichtet wird dabei ein Kreuz, das der zelebrierende Kleriker „aus der Hand des Theodoros, Bischofs von Philae, erhalten hat."[31] Auch hier, weit außerhalb der Reichsgrenze, tritt Theodoros also als Bezwinger der Isis auf und ist maßgeblich an der Christianisierung ihres Heiligtums beteiligt. Und es spricht angesichts der Verwendung derselben Formel der Kreuzerrichtung, wenn auch ohne Nennung des Theodoros, in Kalabscha (Talmis), der größten Tempelanlage Nubiens knapp 20 km nördlich von Dendur, manches dafür, daß der philaenische Bischof auch an diesem herausragenden sakralen Ort als *spiritus rector* der Konversion des Heiligtums in eine Kirche und tatkräftiger Propagandist des christlichen Glaubens gewirkt hat, als der er in der kirchenhistorischen Überlieferung für die Missionierung Nubiens (mit) apostrophiert wird.[32] Ihm, dem Bischof von Philae, waren zudem zumindest zeitweilig die jungen Gemeinden von Dendur wie der gesamten Dodekáschoinos auch kirchenrechtlich unterstellt.[33] Theodoros erweist sich so als ein kongenialer, machtbewußter kirchlicher Mitstreiter Kaiser Justinians. Das aus seinem erfolgreichen Wirken in Philae und Nubien gewonnene Prestige wußte er, ein echter Reichsbischof, später

[30] Zu dieser Missionierungspolitik und ihren reichspolitischen Intentionen siehe umfassend Roeder 1912, Engelhardt 1974 sowie zuletzt Richter 2002 und Dijkstra 2005 (wobei eine Neuuntersuchung und -bewertung der Rollen der im ungemein tendenziösen Bericht des Johannes von Ephesos genannten Protagonisten dringend erforderlich ist). Zum Episkopat des Theodoros und seiner Datierung (mit Quellen) Anm. 22; eine Zusammenstellung der diesen Bischof nennenden epigraphischen, dokumentarischen und historiographischen Quellen auch bei Richter 2002, 99ff.

[31] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲙ̅ ⲡⲧⲣⲉⲛⲭⲓ ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ̀ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ ⲛ̅ⲑⲉⲱⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕ, ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲕ… Die jüngste Edition mit ausführlichem Kommentar von Richter 2002, 164–172. Auf eine eingehende Diskussion kann deshalb an dieser Stelle verzichtet werden. Die Inschrift ist mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit auf 544 n. Chr. zu datieren; ebd. 169.

[32] So argumentiert Richter 2002, 162f. (nebst Verweis auf die paläographische Verwandtschaft der Texte), der die Schließung des Tempels in Kalabscha spätestens in der 2. Hälfte des 6. Jh. annehmen möchte, „wahrscheinlich ganz in zeitlicher Nähe der Umwandlungen von Philae und Dendur." Ebd. 194f. auch eine Übersicht zur Chronologie der Nubien-Mission.

[33] Jo. Eph. *h. e.* 3,4,49 (S. 175–176, Brooks [Übers.]).

zudem noch in innerkirchlich-theologischen Auseinandersetzungen in die Waagschale von Synoden zu werfen.[34]

Offenkundig ist, daß dieser Bischof seine Stellung der gewaltsamen Unterwerfung der heidnischen Kulte auf Philae und in der Dodekáschoinos zu verdanken hatte. Der Bischofssitz von Philae wiederum gewann, zumindest zeitweilig, unter dem Zeichen des Kreuzes eben jene Region südlich des 1. Kataraktes kirchenpolitisch wieder zurück, die Jahrhunderte zuvor noch der Priesterschaft der Isis von Philae als Tempelland unterstanden hatte. Zwei Faktoren begründen somit den atemberaubenden Aufstieg des Bischofssitzes von Philae und verliehen ihm spektakuläre Legitimität: Die Anwendung von Gewalt zur Überwindung der paganen Kulte, hier im besonderen des Isis-Kultes, und die enge Anlehnung an die Zentrale des Reiches und deren Politik. Auch dies dürfte mit eine Erklärung für die oben notierte Sprache und die Botschaft der Inschriften des Theodoros sein. Es würde nicht überraschen, wenn von den (nur schwer zu datierenden) weiteren Kirchen auf Philae etwa die große Ostkirche, die als christlicher Neubau im Rücken des Isis-Heiligtums liegt, ebenfalls auf diesen Bischof zurückginge.[35] Auch von der nahegelegenen kleineren Westkirche scheint dies möglich.[36] Die Inschriften in der Stephanskirche resp. dem Isis-Heiligtum wie auch die in Dendur verweisen jedenfalls auf ein episkopales Selbstverständnis und Selbstbewußtsein, das Theodoros als Begründer und Stifter der christlichen Kirche in Philae und wohl auch der Dodekáschoinos ausweist oder doch diesen Anspruch zu erheben versucht.

Die bemerkenswerte, ja beispiellose Identifikation Bischof Theodoros' mit dem gewaltsamen Akt der Christianisierung des paganen Heiligtums, die triumphalistische Inszenierung seiner selbst und seines Amtes, die an Bischof Theophilos' Auftreten in Alexandria über ein Jahrhundert zuvor erinnert,[37] berechtigt die Frage, welche Bedeutung diese Kulttransformation auf Philae für die Stellung dieses Bischofs und die seiner Gemeinde besaß, welche Veränderungen im Gefüge der religiösen und ekklesiastischen Verhältnisse um Philae mit diesem tiefen Einschnitt verbunden waren. Dabei ist zunächst festzuhalten: Anders als die Theodoros-Inschriften und die Geschichte der paganen Kulte an

[34] Maspero 1909.
[35] Hierzu Grossmann 1970, vgl. derselbe 2002. Siehe auch oben Anm. 24.
[36] Hierzu Grossmann in diesem Band 318 ff., der die Errichtung dieses Spolienbaus in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts für wahrscheinlich hält.
[37] Hierzu in diesem Band 348 ff., insbesondere Abb. 2 auf 365.

diesem Ort nahelegen, gab es bereits seit Generationen Christen und eine Gemeinde auf der Tempelinsel—ja sogar Vorgänger des Theodoros als Bischöfe von Philae. Um den Prozess der Christianisierung am 1. Katarakt und die Bedeutung der gewaltsamen Beendigung der Kulte auf Philae historisch einordnen und bewerten zu können, ist deshalb eine Analyse der Anfänge und der Entwicklung des Christentums in diesem Raum unabdingbar.

IV

Auffallend spät gelangte das Christentum in den Süden Ägyptens. Für keines der späteren Bistümer in der (seit Theodosius II. eigenständigen) Provinz Thebais Secunda ist vor dem 2. Viertel des 4. Jahrhunderts ein Bischof bezeugt, der erste uns unter dem Jahr 362 n. Chr. datiert faßbare Bischof von Philae in einer Bischofsliste eines Briefes des Athanasius von Alexandria zudem zweifelhaft.[38] Literarische Quellen—etwa Palladios—sprechen um 400 zwar von einem lebendigen Mönchtum um Syene (Assuan), lassen aber keine Rückschlüsse auf die städtischen Gemeinden zu. Hervorgehoben wird die ungebrochene Lebendigkeit der einheimischen Kulte und der Widerstand gegen das Christentum, teils auch die Bedrückung christlicher Gläubiger. Zentrum des sich ausbreitenden Christentums ist Syene und seine *chora*.[39]

Helleres Licht auf die kirchlichen Verhältnisse des Raumes wirft erst die bekannte Petition des Bischofs Appion von Syene, ca. 425–450 n. Chr. datiert („Papyrus Leidensis Z"), der die Kaiser um militärischen Schutz für seine Gemeinden vor Einfällen der Blemmyer bittet. In diesem Kontext findet auch die kirchliche Situation in Philae (nicht aber ein dortiger Bischof) Erwähnung. Appion, der sich als Bischof

[38] Zusammenstellungen mit den Belegen bei Fedalto 1988, 653–655; Worp 1994; Dijkstra 2005, 210f. Der im *tomus ad Antiochenos* des Athanasius von 362 n. Chr. (*PG* 26, col. 796–810, hier 808) genannte Μάρκος Φίλων (der gerne mit dem in der koptischen Überlieferung als zweiten Bischof Philaes genannten Markos identifiziert wird; hierzu unten) ist aus systematischen Gründen—einziger Bischof von außerhalb des Nildeltas in der Liste—anfechtbar, die Ortsangabe dabei leicht mit einer Verschreibung erklärlich und einleuchtend in Σίλων emendierbar; Wilcken 1901, 403f. und Martin 1996, 84–87 mit Diskussion.

[39] Timm 1984, 222–235 mit allen Belegen. Vgl. MacCoull 1990. Palladios bereiste um 400 n. Chr. die Thebais und erwähnt die außerordentliche Zahl der dort lebenden Mönche (*h. Laus.*; vgl. prol. 2) angesichts seiner späteren Verbannung in die Region von Syene (ca. 406–412 n. Chr.) ist dies ungeachtet seiner hagiographischen Tendenz eine gewichtige Aussage.

der „Region von Syene und Kontrasyene [auf dem Nilufer gegenüber gelegen] und von Elephantine [also der Nilinsel mit dem großen Chnoum-Heiligtum]“ bezeichnet[40]—eine bemerkenswert umständliche Diözesanbezeichnung, die auf eher disparate Ordnungsverhältnisse schließen läßt—erbittet militärischen Schutz, ja persönlichen Zugriff auf Militär für seine ἐκκλησίαι (Gemeinden? Kirchengebäude? beides?) und dies nach dem Muster Philaes, wo die dortigen ἐκκλησίαι unmittelbaren Schutz von seiten der Garnison genießen, der Jurisdiktion Bischof Appions allerdings offenbar *nicht* unterstehen.[41]

Das Dokument wirft eine Vielzahl von Fragen hinsichtlich der ekklesiastischen Organisation in der Kataraktregion auf. Diese weicht in eklatanter, ja beispielloser Weise von der säkularen Verwaltungsordnung ab: Nomos-Hauptstadt und damit ‚legitimer‘ Sitz eines Bischofs war Omboi—das jedoch nicht vor dem Jahr 402 n. Chr. als Bischofssitz bezeugt ist.[42] Sein Verwaltungssprengel erstreckte sich über 40 km südwärts bis zum 1. Katarakt und umfaßte hier Syene, Elephantine und Philae. Bischof Appion wiederum residierte nicht in einer πόλις—als solche ist Syene nicht vor 577 n. Chr. bezeugt –, hatte aber immerhin die lokale Militärgarnison in unmittelbarer Nähe (allerdings, anders als Philae, nicht zu seinem Schutz).[43] Auf Elephantine, unmittelbar vor Syene im Nil gelegen, hatte der große Chnum-Tempel vielleicht zur selben Zeit wie der Tempelkomplex von Luxor, in dem unter Diokletian ein Militärlager eingerichtet wurde, schon sämtliche kultischen Funktionen eingebüßt. Er wurde sukzessive zerstört bzw. als Steinbruch (u. a. für Syene) ausgebeutet, aber seit Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts auch

[40] P. Leid. Z (zitiert nach der Edition von Feissel – Worp 1988), Z.3: Ἀππίωνος ἐπισκόπου λεγεόνος Συήνης καὶ Κεν .. Ṣ[υ]ήνης καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἐπαρχίας τῆς ὑμετέρας Ἄṛṿ Θ[η]βαείδος—statt λεγεόνος wird auch eine Verschreibung von ρεγεόνος vertreten (was mir überzeugender erscheint); vgl. Feissel – Worp 1988, 101–103 mit Diskussion sowie MacCoull 1990, 152f.

[41] P. Leid. Z, Z. 5: τῶν ἐμῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τυγχάνων…Ebd. Z. 8f.: φρουρεῖσ[θ]αι τὰ[ς ὑπ' ἐμὲ?] ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμεῖν στρατιωṭῶν κ[αὶ] πιθέσθ[αι αὐτο]ὺς…καθὼς οἱ ἐν Φίλω [Κά]σṭρα καλουμέν[ῳ] φρουρίῳ. Bei der Truppe auf Philae handelt es sich wohl um die in der *Notitia dignitatum* hier notierte Legio I Maximiana; Jones 1964, 654 mit 662. Zur Militärstruktur in der Kataraktregion in der Spätantike siehe eingehend auch Keenan 1990.

[42] Worp 1994, 303. Die Evidenz für die Verwaltungsstruktur des Raumes ist bemerkenswert defizitär. Eine Diskussion der Zeugnisse für das 5. und 6. Jahrhundert bieten nun Dijkstra – Worp 2006.

[43] *P.Lond.* V 1855.7 von 493 n. Chr. nennt λεγέων Συήνης. Vgl. auch Bernand 1969, 225 mit inschriftlichem Beleg. Das Lager konnte auf der östlichen Nilseite bei Šallāl identifiziert werden. Zu Syene und seiner *chora* siehe Locher 1999, 15ff. sowie auch Pilgrim 2006.

für eine christliche Siedlung, möglicherweise ein Kloster genutzt. Der Einbau einer Kirche in den früheren Pronaos erfolgte aber erst in der 2. Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts.[44]

Welcher Art die von Appian geleiteten ἐκκλησίαι sein könnten, bleibt dunkel—an einer Untertreibung ihrer Bedeutung wird dem Bischof in seiner Petition jedenfalls nicht gerade gelegen gewesen sein. Schwerlich ist hier an größere eigentliche Kirchenbauten zu denken, weit eher wohl an schlichte Gemeinden. Für Syene selbst ist eine Stadtkirche (ἐκκλησία Συήνης) seit 493 n. Chr. gut dokumentiert, daneben nur zwei weitere Kirchen (oder Kapellen) am Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts bekannt, aber monastische Einrichtungen bezeugt.[45]

Bemerkenswert ist aber vor allem der unzweideutige Hinweis des Appion auf ἐκκλησίαι auf Philae. Gemeinden oder gar Kirchenbauten im Schatten des Isis-Tempels? Wir erfahren zu wenig, um begründete Schlüsse auf die Art und Weise der christlichen Präsenz auf der in der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts kultisch noch ungemein lebendigen paganen Tempelinsel ziehen zu können. Für eine Etablierung des Christentums können hier aus mancherlei Gründen aber keine günstigen Voraussetzungen bestanden haben. Angesichts der enormen Präsenz des paganen Kultbetriebes samt Personal und zugehörigem Umfeld möchte man einen zahlenmäßig ins Gewicht fallenden christlichen Bevölkerungsanteil kaum annehmen, erst recht aber markante christliche Kultbauten (für welche entsprechende archäologische Befunde aus vorjustinianischer Zeit ohnehin gänzlich fehlen) im Grunde ausschließen. Auch wurde die bebaubare Fläche Philaes von nur etwa 4 ha bereits weit überwiegend von Tempelbauten und der Infrastruktur eines intensiven Pilgerbetriebes eingenommen. Platz für eine Wohnbevölkerung war hier so nur in bescheidenstem Umfange gegeben. Verwaltungstechnisch fehlten in jedem Falle die Voraussetzungen für einen Bischofssitz für Philae: die kleine Siedlung mit ihrer vermutlich polyethnischen Bevölkerung hatte zu keinem Zeitpunkt ihrer Existenz den Status einer Stadt. Die schwache schriftliche Bezeugung für eine hier seit dem 5. oder gar 4. Jahrhunderts existierende Gemeinde unter einem eigenen Bischof wird noch eingehend zu diskutieren sein.

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[44] Zur Geschichte und Nutzung des Tempels in der Spätantike siehe die wichtigen Untersuchungen von Grossmann 1980, passim. Hierzu auch MacCoull 1990, 153f. und Dijkstra 2005, 180f.

[45] Timm 1984, 223f. mit den Belegen.

Vor allem stellt sich aber auch die Frage nach der Herkunft philaenischer Christen: Handelt es sich bei diesen um Einheimische, die zum neuen Glauben übergetreten waren? Oder rekrutierte sich die lokale Kirche nicht eher aus den hier an der Reichsgrenze am östlichen Nilufer in Sichtweite stationierten Soldaten samt ihren Familien und stand deshalb—wie die ganze Tempelinsel mit ihren Schätzen und Ressourcen—auch unter unmittelbarem militärischem Schutz? Letztere Vermutung wird indirekt erhärtet durch zwei wenig später (zwischen 449 und 468 n. Chr.) gesetzte Bauinschriften auf der Insel, die einen Daniel als Bischof von Philae nennen.[46] In Kooperation mit dem an erster Stelle der Inschrift genannten Garnisonschef und Grenzkommandeur zeichnet Daniel für die Wiedererrichtung eines Mauerabschnittes Philaes—zweifellos zur Befestigung der Insel gegen drohende Blemmyereinfälle—verantwortlich. Der Bischof auf der Tempelinsel an der Seite des Militärkommandeurs und Repräsentanten der römischen Herrschaft—ein beachtenswertes Faktum. Auch der uns bereits bekannte Bischof Theodoros sollte gegen Ende seines Episkopats in gleicher Weise und Kooperation tätig werden und einen Mauerzug auf der Insel wiederherstellen lassen.[47]

Warum aber ein Bischof in Philae? Diese Frage drängt sich auf, wenn man die politischen und geographischen Bedingungen der Südgrenze des Reiches in Verbindung mit den Prinzipien spätantiker ekklesiastischer Strukturbildung betrachtet. Philae, eine Tempelinsel mit sehr bescheidenem Siedlungsareal und deshalb kaum ausgeprägter städtischer Struktur, verfügte, als äußerster Vorposten des Reiches unmittelbar südlich des 1. Kataraktes in geringer Entfernung von Syene gelegen, weder über die demographischen noch institutionellen oder territorialen Voraussetzungen, die nach den gängigen Kriterien die Einrichtung eines eigenen Bischofssitzes und einer eigenständigen Kirchenorganisation rechtfertigen konnten.[48] Die Stadt Syene hingegen, bedeutender Stapelplatz, Garnisonsort und Verwaltungssitz, war für

[46] *IPhilae* II 194. Vgl. auch *IPhilae* II 195. Zu Daniel siehe Munier 1938, 47f. Zu Daniels Rolle auch Trombley 1993–1994, 2:236, der den aktiven Part des Bischofs hervorhebt: dieser übernahm die Aufsicht über die Handwerker und besorgte die Materialien für den von ihm verantworteten Teil der Baumaßnahme, während der *dux* der Thebais, Flavius Damonicus, die Tätigkeiten autorisierte.

[47] *IPhilae* II 216. Zum Phänomen siehe auch Rapp 2005, 221ff.

[48] Siehe hierzu die immer noch grundlegenden Darlegungen von Jones 1964, 874–879.

diesen letzten Abschnitt Nillandes unter römischer Herrschaft—sieht man von dem vorgeschobenen Truppenlager in Philae ab—der natürliche Hauptort.[49]

Philaes Bedeutung beruhte ausschließlich auf seiner überragenden sakralen Ausstrahlung nach Süden und darüber hinaus auf dem hier gelegenen Kastell und seiner Besatzung. Der Insel fehlten hingegen seit diokletianischer Zeit die wirtschaftlichen und demographischen Ressourcen eines eigenen Hinterlandes, eben das reiche Land der Dodekáschoinos—diese hatte in den drei Jahrhunderten zuvor als Tempelland der Kontrolle und Bewirtschaftung der Priesterschaft Philaes unterstanden. Erst recht unter den Bedingungen einer nur zögerlichen Christianisierung, wie sie für diese Grenzregion bis in die Spätantike charakteristisch war, konnte—neben Omboi als Nomos-Hauptstadt—die Existenz zweier weiterer Diözesen, in Syene und in Philae, mit eigenständiger Organisation sich nicht den sonst wirksamen Kriterien kirchlicher Raumgliederung verdanken.

Alleiniger Anstoß für die Einrichtung einer eigenen Diözese Philae vermochte so nur die Existenz des Militärlagers bei der Insel sein. Die Anbindung eines Bischofssitzes an einen Truppenstandort, herausgelöst aus der städtischen Territorialordnung des Umlandes, ist in der Spätantike nicht ohne Parallele.[50] Die Koexistenz eigenständiger Kirchenorganisationen in Syene und seinem Umland, darunter Elephantine einerseits und Philae andererseits, entbehrt im übrigen nicht einer gewissen historischen Ironie bzw. könnte noch eine ganz anders gelagerte historische Rivalität spiegeln. Die Tempelinseln von Philae und Elephantine verband nämlich noch in römischer Zeit eine bittere Konkurrenz um den Vorrang in der sakralen Landschaft der Dodekáschoinos und, damit verbunden, um die wirtschaftlichen Ressourcen dieses Raums, der vor vielen Jahrhunderten einmal unter der Kontrolle der Priesterschaft von Elephantine gestanden hatte. Zusammenfassend läßt sich allerdings feststellen, daß die Bedeutung des Bischofssitzes von Philae unter den oben dargelegten Bedingungen sehr bescheiden gewesen sein muß; die Diözese von Syene konnte dagegen territorial,

[49] Dies spiegelt auch das umfängliche Patermouthis-Archiv mit seinem Dokumentenbestand für die 120-jährige Periode von 493–613 n. Chr. Hierzu der Abriß bei Dijkstra 2005, 192ff. Zu Syene aus archäologischer Perspektive siehe nun Pilgrim 2006.

[50] Jones 1964, 875–879, hier 878 (mit 1364f. n. 10). In Ägypten: Philae, Syene, Elephantine, Babylon und Scenae Mandron, in Syrien an der Wüstengrenze Sura, Barbalissus, Resapha, Euaria, Danaba.

aber auch hinsichtlich ihres Potentials an Asketen auf der städtischen *chora*, einen unzweifelhaften Vorrang beanspruchen.

Und doch verweist die oben angeführte Mauerbauinschrift zugleich auf einen weiteren, administrativen Aspekt, der dem Bischof auf Philae eine eigentümliche Funktion, ja eine herausgehobene Rolle auf der Tempelinsel zuweist. Seine Beteiligung an der öffentlichen Reparaturmaßnahme, die so gar nicht zu der zu vermutenden geringen Bedeutung der wohl sehr kleinen christlichen Gemeinde auf Philae zu passen scheint, gibt ihn seiner Umwelt zugleich als Exponenten einer hochbedeutsamen Institution des Imperium Romanum zu erkennen. Immerhin repräsentierte dieser Bischof mit griechischem Namen in der gemischten Bevölkerung der Insel die ‚katholische' Kirche und insofern zugleich die kaiserliche Herrschaft und den christlichen Glauben des Herrscherhauses: eine nicht geringe Autorität, mochte auch seine Herde unbedeutend sein und ansässige Blemmyer, Nobader oder Angehörige anderer paganer Ethnien die Bevölkerungsmehrheit bilden. Angesichts des Fehlens eines städtischen Gemeinwesens oder einer anderen Form lokaler Selbstverwaltung auf Philae—die blemmysche Priesterschaft des Isis-Tempels agiert *nicht* als Ansprechpartner der imperialen Verwaltung—vermochte der Bischof, wie auch die Bauinschrift zeigt, eine hervorgehobene kommunale Position und Funktion an sich zu ziehen bzw. wurde mit der Übernahme entsprechender Verantwortung und Aufgaben von seiten der kaiserlichen Verwaltung bedacht.

Diese Feststellung ist deshalb von grundsätzlicher Bedeutung, weil sie—mögen auch jegliche expliziten Belege fehlen—wohl eine klare Schlußfolgerung auf die Lebensverhältnisse von Christen auf Philae unter den Bedingungen eines blühenden, von blemmyschen u. a. Pilgern frequentierten Isis-Heiligtums gestattet: Christen müssen an diesem Ort im wesentlichen unbehelligt gelebt haben können, geschützt von ihrem Status als römische Bürger in einer bunt zusammengesetzten, erheblich von Zugewanderten oder vorübergehend hier ansässigen Fremden bestimmten Lokalgesellschaft. Die römische Garnison, welche die Sicherheit der Grenze und ebenso der Nilinsel zu gewährleisten hatte, war ein wirksamer Garant für jede noch so kleine christliche Gemeinde auf dem Boden Philaes. Ohnehin gibt es kaum Anlaß, jenen aus dem Süden nach Philae gelangenden polytheistischen Isis-Verehrern und Pilgern eine christenfeindliche Haltung zu unterstellen. Das Miteinander der verschiedenen, teils ohnehin stark fluktuierenden Kultgruppen auf der Insel dürfte, wie dies an Orten mit einer hohen Mobilität und Permeabilität die Regel ist, von friedlicher Koexistenz bestimmt gewesen sein.

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Von Gewaltanwendung gegen einen Kult in Philae und einer damit verbundenen Christianisierung der Insel hören wir nun aber auch noch in einer gänzlich anderen Überlieferung und unter divergierender Perspektive. Eine koptische Mönchsgeschichte, in einem Manuskript des ausgehenden 10. Jahrhunderts bewahrt und in ihrer Entstehung meist in das 5. oder vielleicht 6. Jahrhundert datiert, verknüpft die dauerhafte Etablierung des Christentums auf Philae, ja die Begründung der dortigen Kirchenorganisation unter einem eigenen Bischof, mit Personen und Ereignissen seit der Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts bis Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts.[51] Diese Überlieferung von Legenden über Asketen aus der Umgebung Philaes bietet—auf mündlicher Tradition beruhend?—in ihrem zweiten Teil eine Geschichte der ersten Bischöfe von Philae.[52] Erzählt wird, daß ein christlicher Ratsherr der Stadt Syene (Assuan), Macedonius, vom Patriarchen Athanasius in Alexandria zum Bischof des noch nahezu gänzlich heidnischen Philae geweiht wird, nach seiner Rückkehr in die Kataraktregion auf der Tempelinsel von Philae incognito in das Heiligtum des Horus eindringt, dem dort in einem Käfig gehaltenen heiligen Falken den Kopf abschlägt und so dem Kult ein Ende setzt. Viele Einwohner bekehren sich angesichts dieser Tat zum Christentum und lassen sich taufen, darunter auch die Söhne des Horus-Priesters, die später nacheinander Nachfolger des Bischof Macedonius werden (dieser soll im übrigen auch die erste Kirche Philaes errichtet haben).[53]

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[51] Der zugrundeliegende koptische Text ist unvollständig und gehört zu einer Gruppe verstreuter Texte aus Beständen der British Library, die Budge 1914 und 1915 in seiner grundlegenden Sammlung ‚Coptic Texts' publizierte. Im vierten Band edierte und übersetzte er das ‚Leben des Mönches Onnophrius' von Paphnutius (S. 205–224 bzw. 455–473), im folgenden Band unter dem von ihm gewählten Titel (‚Histories of the Monks in the Egyptian Desert by Paphnutius') die akephale, hier im weiteren diskutierte Sammlung von Lebensbeschreibungen (Paphn. *h. mon.*). O'Leary 1937, 220 verwendete für die Überlieferung den Titel ‚Stories of the Monks of the Desert' (gefolgt von Layton 1987, 196), Vivian ²2000 in seiner Übersetzung samt Kommentar dann den Titel ‚Histories of the Monks of Upper Egypt'. Zusammenfassend zur Textüberlieferung siehe dort S. 50ff. sowie detailliert Layton 1987, 192ff. (mit neuem Material). Vgl. nun auch Dijkstra 2005, 97ff., der den Titel ‚Life of Aaron' bevorzugt und eine eingehende Beschreibung des Codex GB-BL Or. 7029 wie auch eine Diskussion des Textes bietet.

[52] Paphn. *h. mon.* 26–85, fol. 10b–37b Budge = Vivian ²2000, 84–114.

[53] Die Bekehrung gerade eines bisherigen Kultbeamten zum Christentum und seine Aufnahme in den Klerus ist als ein hagiographisches Motiv zur Unterstreichung der Wirksamkeit der Missionsbemühung anzusehen: Greg. Nyss. *v. Gr. Thaum.* 5 (35–40) (*PG* 46, col. 917B) berichtet von der *conversio* eines Tempelwächters, der anschließend

Diese Überlieferung ist in ihrem historischen Gehalt nicht überprüfbar. Sie zeichnet sich allerdings ungeachtet hagiographischer Ausformungen durch eine Vielzahl bemerkenswert begründeter oder plausibler und zugleich eigenständiger Details aus, die sie im religiösen und geographischen Umfeld Philaes einleuchtend verankern. Der Falkenkult auf Philae etwa wurde von Strabon drei Jahrhunderte zuvor ausführlich aus eigener Anschauung geschildert (ihm zufolge galt er der ‚Seele des Sonnengottes' Re). Seine Bedeutung ist daraus erschließbar, daß derselbe Autor keinen anderen Kult auf Philae, auch nicht den der Isis erwähnt (deren Verehrung wird übrigens auch von der Mönchsgeschichte mit Stillschweigen übergangen), in deren Tempelareal er lokalisiert war.[54] Die Mönchsgeschichte verbindet nun diesen Falkenkult mit der Unterdrückung der frühen Christen Philaes, spiegelt mithin eine als prekär verstandene Koexistenz von Heiden und Christen auf der Tempelinsel. In verschiedenen Episoden wird, historisch zutreffend, die bedrohliche Nähe der heidnischen Blemmyer thematisiert. Mehr als nur plausibel erscheint die Feststellung, daß die Christen Philaes—noch ohne eigene Kirche—von Klerikern aus Syene regelmäßig aufgesucht und seelsorgerisch betreut werden.[55]

Selbst wenn man eine grundsätzliche historische Basis der hier bewahrten Skizze der Anfänge des Christentums und des Bischofssitzes von Philae nicht vertreten will und gleichermaßen die in der Mönchsgeschichte bewahrten historischen Details und Feststellungen anzuzweifeln geneigt ist, bleibt zu konstatieren, daß dieser Text offensichtlich eine—wann auch immer fixierte—bemerkenswerte lokale Tradition von den Anfängen des Christentums und Episkopats in Philae darstellt. Als solcher besitzt er einen kaum minderen Wert und bedeutet für den Historiker ein wertvolles Zeugnis—im vorliegenden Falle gerade auch deshalb, weil er eine gänzlich eigenständige (und abweichende) Perspektive auf die bei der Transformation des religiösen

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von dem Heiligen instruiert wird und ihm später als Diakon dient (col. 948A). Dem Kirchenhistoriker Rufinus zufolge (*hist.* 7,28) wäre der Kultbeamte (bei Rufinus Priester eines Orakels) später sogar zum Nachfolger des Bischofs avanciert; hierzu Slusser 1998, 3f. mit Anm. 16.

[54] Strab. 17,818. Zum Falkenkult auf Philae Junker 1912 (auch auf der Basis von Hieroglyphen-Inschriften); Spiegelberg 1924. Dijkstra 2002 verweist auf vier Pfostenlöcher am Balkon zwischen den Türmen am ersten Pylon im Isis-Tempelkomplex, die seiner Deutung nach eine Holzkonstruktion getragen haben können, welche das ⲙⲁⲅⲅⲁⲛⲟⲛ (μάγγανον)—eine Vorrichtung oder Käfig—beherbergte, in dem der heilige Falke (ⲃⲏⲕ) nach Ausweis der koptischen Quelle gehalten wurde.

[55] Paphn. *h. mon.* 30, fol. 12b Budge = Vivian ²2000, 86.

Lebens Philaes wirksamen Kräfte eröffnet und andere, konkurrierende Legitimationszusammenhänge formuliert, als sie sich in den historischen Geschehnissen um Bischof Theodor im Kontext der justinianischen Nubien-Politik erschließen lassen.

Einige Beobachtungen mögen dies verdeutlichen. Staatliche Institutionen—ob Kaiser oder Militär—finden in der koptischen hagiographischen Tradition keinerlei Erwähnung, die Existenz eines Militärlagers oder von Soldaten in Philae (wie überhaupt in dieser militärisch stark gesicherten Grenzregion) wird ausgeblendet.[56] Vertreter der römischen Reichsverwaltung—ob *comes, dux* o. a.—finden ebensowenig Erwähnung. Akzentuiert werden dagegen lokale Wurzeln und Kräfte: Mönche aus der Region von Syene (Assuan) spielen eine wichtige Rolle; von ihren Kreisen geht wesentlich die spirituelle Initiative und missionarische Dynamik aus, der sich schließlich, gegen hartnäckigen paganen Widerstand, die Christianisierung der Tempelinsel und ihrer Bevölkerung verdankt. Mehrere dieser Asketen nehmen denn auch als regelrechte Mönchsbischöfe die kirchliche Führung Philaes ein. Auch sonst dominieren Einheimische die Episoden der Vitenfolge, vor allem Bürger Syenes, unter ihnen (ungenannte) führende Persönlichkeiten der Stadt. So wird vor allem eine ursprüngliche Abhängigkeit bzw. Abtrennung von der Kirchenorganisation Syenes—wie auch dem dortigen Asketentum—nicht nur nicht bestritten, sondern ausdrücklich reflektiert und zudem in der Person des Macedonius expliziert. Letzterer, zugleich laut der koptischen Überlieferung der erste Bischof Philaes, verkörpert zudem in merkwürdiger Synthese beide genannten Stränge (und spiegelt hierin zugleich die beiden gängigen Muster spätantiker episkopaler Autoritätsbegründung): Anfangs wird er (ein einziges Mal) als ehemaliger Ratsherr (‚Archon') der Stadt gekennzeichnet, ja mit der Bezeichnung ‚Pagarch' als gehobener Verwaltungsbeamter im Territorium ausgewiesen. Im übrigen erscheint er hingegen ausschließlich als frommer Asket, der sich

[56] Eine bemerkenswerte Ausnahme ist hier allerdings zu notieren: Der für die Rahmenhandlung entscheidende Mönch Aaron, in dessen Vita von immerhin 57 Folia die Geschichte der Bischöfe von Philae eingebettet ist, soll (unmittelbar vor Beginn seiner asketischen Karriere, die hier mit einem Konversionserlebnis einsetzt) als Angehöriger einer römischen Truppe „in eine [ungenannte] andere Stadt" verlegt werden (Paphn. *h. mon.* 87, fol. 37b Budge = Vivian ²2000, 115). Der Kontext verweist unzweideutig auf Syene als vorherigen Stationierungsort. Zur militärischen Besatzung der südlichen Thebais (in Elephantine, Syene und Philae) und ihren vermutlichen Verschiebungen in der Spätantike Treadgold 1995, 50ff. und 70, genauer Jones 1964, 654 und 662 mit 1274f. Anm. 127f.

wiederholt in die Wüste zurückzieht, von Bischof Athanasius, dem er anläßlich einer Reise nach Alexandria von den religiösen Mißständen im äußersten Süden von dessen Kirchenprovinz Kenntnis gibt, allerdings ungeachtet seines Widerstrebens mit der Missionierung Philaes und der Leitung der dortigen Christen beauftragt wird.

Vor allem wird die Situation der wenigen christlichen Gläubigen in Philae nicht nur vor dem Auftreten des Macedonius, sondern auch für die Dauer seines Wirken auf der Insel und in ihrer Umgebung als eine Existenz der Bedrängung und Unterdrückung geschildert, die (allerdings nach der Tötung des heiligen Falken durch Macedonius) sogar in offene Verfolgung und Gewalt umschlägt. In frappierendem Gegensatz zu der Konstellation der religiösen Koexistenz, die sich auf der Basis der übrigen Evidenz und der spezifischen Bedingungen der Tempelinsel an der Grenze zwischen Imperium und Nubien als das bestimmende Merkmal des Zusammenlebens der Bevölkerungs- und Kultgruppen hat rekonstruieren lassen, evoziert die koptische Überlieferung eine leidgeprägte Minderheiten- und Randexistenz der wenigen Christen Philaes: Ohne Kirche und Klerus, spirituell nur notdürftig von Asketen und Priestern aus Syene betreut, fristen sie ein erbärmliches Leben unter ständiger Bedrohung durch eine gewaltbereite pagane Bevölkerungsmehrheit.

Eine entscheidende Rolle für den Prozess der dauerhaften religiösen Transformation Philaes wird in dieser Überlieferung im übrigen aber in ungemein markanter Weise zugleich dem Patriarchen von Alexandria, Athanasius, zugewiesen—dieser auch sonst der episkopale Archeget der koptischen Tradition überhaupt. Athanasius weiht den ersten Bischof Philaes und erteilt diesem den Christianisierungsauftrag. Auch die Bestimmung seiner beiden Nachfolger geschieht durch den Patriarchen persönlich (und in Alexandria); von ihm erhalten sie, auch wenn zuvor von ihrer Gemeinde gewählt, explizit Ernennungsschreiben ausgestellt, die sie nach ihrer Rückkehr ihren Gläubigen vorweisen. Daneben erteilt der Patriarch eingehende Unterweisungen und belehrt den designierten Bischof ausführlich über den Umgang mit der paganen nubischen Bevölkerung bei Philae, um auch diese für den christlichen Glauben zu gewinnen.[57]

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[57] Paphn. *h. mon.* 57–69, 72, 74–76, fol. 25a–30a, 32a, 32b–33b Budge = Vivian ²2000, 99–105, 107f., 108f. Diese Darlegungen nehmen einen—gemessen am Umfang der Mönchsgeschichte insgesamt—außerordentlich breiten Raum ein. Siehe auch Martin 1996, 87f. 128.

Die enge Bindung an den alexandrinischen Patriarchenstuhl bleibt nach dieser Überlieferung dabei nicht auf Athanasius beschränkt. Auch seine Nachfolger Timotheus und Theophilus ernennen einen Bischof Philaes bzw. erhalten dessen Aufwartung in Alexandria—Feststellungen, die angesichts der insgesamt knappen Darstellung der koptischen Quelle Beachtung verdienen. Theophilus, treibende Kraft bei der Zerstörung des Serapeums von Alexandria im Jahre 392, galt späteren Generationen der ägyptischen Kirche vor allem als der gewalttätige Vorkämpfer gegen das Heidentum.[58] Besonders die beiden Identifikationsfiguren Athanasius und Theophilos gestalten mithin die Eigenständigkeit der philaenischen Kirche und lösen sie von ihren Wurzeln in Syene—binden sie aber zugleich in die strikte ekklesiastische Hierarchie Ägyptens ein und fordern die unbedingte Gefolgschaft und Loyalität der jungen Kirche am 1. Katarakt gegenüber Alexandria.[59]

Angesichts der gänzlich anders gelagerten Machtstellung und Autoritätsbegründung eines Bischofs wie Theodoros, der seinen unverhofften Wirkungskreis ausschließlich Kaiser Justinian verdankte und als Bischof der Grenzdiözese unzweideutig und über Jahrzehnte in imperialem Sinne missionarisch wie politisch nach Süden hin wirkte, sprechen solche Akzentuierungen eine deutliche Sprache. Die koptische Tradition als eine Gründungslegende blendet die sprunghaft gewachsene und weitreichende Bedeutung des Bischofssitzes aus, die—wie uns die zeitgenössischen Zeugnisse zeigen—unmittelbar mit der Beendigung der paganen Kulte auf der Tempelinsel einsetzte: die Missionierung der Dodekáschoinos durch den justinianischen Bischof Theodoros. Eine überlokale, sei es in die Reichskirche oder aber in die Dodekáschoinos weisende Ambition geht der asketischen Tradition von der Gründung des Bistum Philae völlig ab, der Versuch einer Fortschreibung der weiten räumlichen Ausstrahlung der alten Tempelinsel unter nun christlichen

[58] Orlandi 1985; Hahn 2004, 100ff.

[59] Gabra 1988 (siehe auch Timm 1984, 222) stellt einen nur aus einer späten arabischen (aber wohl auf ältere koptische Quellen zurückgehenden) Überlieferung bekannten Hatre vor, dessen Aufstieg vom Asket zum Bischof von Syene am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts (!) in ganz ähnlicher Weise erfolgt sei: Gegen seinen Willen von Asketen und Bürgern zum Bischof der Stadt gewählt und nach Alexandria gebracht, wird er dort vom Patriarchen Theophilos (385–412) zum Bischof geweiht. Die ausführliche Schilderung ist sicherlich weniger als Reflex eines historischen Ablaufes zu betrachten (Gabra hält im Grunde sämtliche Sachinformationen, welche die Vita bietet, für historisch) denn als einschlägiger Topos der koptischen ekklesiastischen Tradition.

Auspizien erfolgt nicht. Das strikt asketische Milieu der Akteure schließt einen solchen Anspruch aus.

Unmißverständliche Aussagekraft (mit religionspolitischen Implikationen bzw. Reflexen) erhalten die Feststellungen der koptischen Überlieferung vor dem Hintergrund der anhaltenden theologischen Streitigkeiten der Epoche, in der die alexandrinischen Patriarchen sich wiederholt gegen die offizielle Religionspolitik und erklärten theologischen Auffassungen des Kaisers in Konstantinopel stellten. Hier ist es im besonderen der sogenannte Monophysitismus-Streit seit Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts, über dem sich die überwältigende Mehrheit der ägyptischen Kirche von der Reichskirche abspaltete und zur ‚koptischen' Kirche verselbständigte, der eine autochthon bzw. mit Unterstützung von Alexandria betriebene Christianisierung der Tempelinsel am 1. Katarakt in ein nachgerade programmatisches Licht rückt—dies im übrigen in einem historischen Moment (535 n. Chr.), in dem jener eingangs genannte General Narses von Konstantinopel nach Alexandria beordert wurde, um zunächst, vor seinem Aktivwerden im Süden der Provinz, das Patriarchat des Theodosius gegen den legitimen Amtsinhaber durchzusetzen und so auch in Ägypten eine intensive Phase justinianischer Religionspolitik einzuleiten. Daß diese im Grunde noch vor der Rückreise des Beamten nach Konstantinopel 537 n. Chr. faktisch gescheitert war, in Alexandria eine endgültig gespaltene Kirche hinterließ und deren chalkedonischem Klerus eine düstere Zukunft und weitgehende Bedeutungslosigkeit bevorstanden, war den Protagonisten dieser Jahre noch nicht vorstellbar.[60]

Die dezidiert lokale Tradition und Ausrichtung der Anfänge des Bistums Philae nach der Mönchsgeschichte repräsentieren schließlich auch die beiden Söhne des Horus-Priesters als Nachfolger des Gründerbischofs Macedonius. Nicht nur verkörpern sie die personale Kontinuität zu dem alten Kult Philaes, sondern stellen damit auch eine Art kultischer Kontinuität sicher—ein Aspekt, der sich historisch konkret in verschiedenen frappierenden traditionsbewahrenden Elementen des neuen, christlichen Kultes aufzeigen läßt. Nicht zuletzt erinnert die Weitergabe des Oberpriesteramtes innerhalb einer Familie—hier sogar

[60] Griggs ²2000, Kap. 6 sowie Van Rompay 2005 zum weiteren religionspolitischen und theologischen Kontext, Hardy 1968, 32ff. und Demicheli 1983 zur Installierung des Theodosius im Kontext der Ägyptenpolitik Justinians. Zur anti-chalkedonischen Haltung und Agitation in koptischen asketischen Kreisen siehe nur Johnson 1986; Goehring 1989.

über die Kultgrenzen hinweg—an die Tradition der inschriftlich bis in die Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. über Generationen hinweg in demotischen und auch griechischen Inschriften so markant bezeugten blemmyschen Priesterfamilie der Smet und anderer.[61]

Die spätere Benennung und Verehrung der Maria in der sogenannten Westkirche als κυρία, ‚Herrin' (die für Maria andernorts nur ausnahmsweise belegt ist), weist—wie auch die Formulierung ‚Maria von Philae' in derselben Inschrift—auffällige Ähnlichkeiten zu Wendungen auf, die in zahlreichen griechischen Inschriften für Isis auf Philae Anwendung fanden.[62] Die Verehrung der Maria als Theotokos, ‚Gottesgebärerin', ist als solche angesichts der relativen Häufigkeit dieses Epithetons in der Marienverehrung der Zeit nicht ungewöhnlich; doch die frühere Verehrung der Isis von Philae als ‚Gottesmutter' dürfte hier durchaus Anknüpfungspunkte im Sinne einer Kultadaption geboten haben.[63]

VI

Beiden Gründungsüberlieferungen, der griechischen um Theodoros und derjenigen der koptischen Mönchsgeschichte, ist allerdings gemeinsam die schlüsselhafte Anwendung von Gewalt gegen die pagane Identität der Tempelinsel, die gewaltsame Beendigung des (bzw. eines) Hauptkultes auf Philae. Sie verfolgen darüber unterschiedliche Legitimierungskonzepte, ja spiegeln miteinander unvereinbare kirchliche Identitäten: Hier die reichspolitisch fundierte, expansive Selbstdarstellung, dort die nachhaltig lokal verwurzelte, aber eigene Autonomie fundierende Gründungslegende.

Im Falle der koptischen Mönchsgeschichte tritt ein weiteres Element hinzu: Sie bietet nicht nur eine Aitiologie des Christentums Philaes und

[61] Die datierten Inschriften stammen aus den Jahren 373 bis 454/5 n. Chr., verweisen aber auf frühere (insgesamt fünf) Generationen der Familie in Priesterfunktion. Ein Stammbaum der Familie wurde rekonstruiert von Bernand 1969, 241ff.; vgl. Burkhardt 1984, 78ff. und zuletzt Dijkstra 2005, 68ff. Weitere Stammbäume von Priesterfamilien lassen sich aufgrund der demotischen Graffiti zusammenstellen. Ungelöst ist die Frage der ethnischen (und staatlichen) Zugehörigkeit dieser Priester.

[62] Letzte ausführliche Publikation der koptischen Inschrift (datiert auf 17. Dez. 752) mit Fotos und Diskussion bei Richter 2002, 129ff. Belege für Maria als κυρία ebd., 134 Anm. 90; Isis als κυρία siehe ebd. Anm. 86.

[63] Zu möglichen weiteren Anknüpfungspunkten der christlichen Verehrung auf Philae am Isis-Kult der Tempelinsel siehe Richter 2002, 133f.; kritisch Dijkstra 2005, 167f.

seines Bischofssitzes, sondern zugleich eine Fundierung der Bischofsfolge der Insel von ihren Anfängen her. Die Darlegung der episkopalen Sukzession—zumal in ihren einzelnen Schritten jeweils aufs Neue durch den jeweiligen Patriarchen von Alexandria explizit bestätigt—bezweckt und evoziert die unanfechtbare Legitimität der aktuellen (uns nicht faßbaren) Kirchenleitung—und dies möglicherweise in einem Umfeld und Moment strittiger ekklesiastischer Autorität. Schon die Fixierung der ersten Bischofslisten in der frühchristlichen Kirche stand regelmäßig in einem Kontext heftiger innerer Auseinandersetzungen um die rechte Glaubensdoktrin und innerkirchlicher Führungsansprüche.[64] Auch die nur fragmentarisch auf uns gekommene, in distinkte hagiographische Form gekleidete philaenische Bischofsliste mit ihrem markant asketischen und lokal-koptischen Profil könnte ihre Entstehung oder spezifische Ausformung den Bedingungen jener ‚ecclesiastical crises' verdanken, welche die ägyptische Kirche seit Chalkedon nahezu kontinuierlich erschütterten.

Allerdings geht es bei der Fixierung—oder auch Erfindung—von Tradition wie im Falle der koptischen Bischofsliste nicht allein um die Absicherung episkopaler Autorität. Nicht weniger bedeutsam in dieser Konstruktion von Realität (oder Tradition) durch Text ist die Einbettung bestimmter Werte und Normen, ja einer bestimmten lokalen Identität, die in die Vergangenheit eingeschrieben bzw. projiziert werden, um in der Gegenwart anhaltend sinnstiftend (und immunisierend gegen äußere Einflüsse) zu wirken. Die dezidierte Asketisierung der Vergangenheit der Gemeinde Philaes, insbesondere ihrer Bischöfe, zählt hier ebenso dazu wie die Betonung der Verwurzelung der Gemeinde in der Kulttradition der Tempelinsel (und der Region Syene), die selbst in der gewaltsamen Überwindung noch den lokalen Fokus unterstreicht und sich so auch der sonst geltenden Mechanik spätantiker kirchenpolitischer Ordnung entziehen kann. Der Gründungsmythos rückt die ‚Geburt' der eigenständigen Gemeinde Philae nach Kultur, Sprache, Naturraum (Wüste, Nil), Nachbarschaft (Nomaden) und Wirtschaft in einen dezidiert indigenen oberägyptischen Kontext, in dem alleine der Patriarchenstuhl von Alexandria, nicht aber Institutionen des Imperiums eine—ungemein prägnante—externe Rolle spielen kann. Erlittene Unterdrückung und eigene Gewaltanwendung gegen den paganen Vorgängerkult sind dabei die beiden historischen Schlüsselerfahrungen zur Konstituierung

[64] Siehe hierzu nun umfassend Williams 2006.

der eigenen Gemeinde und einer eigenständigen Identität und retrospektiven Tradition. Daß letztere auf älteres Wissen und ‚historische' Informationen (welchen Umfanges auch immer) zurückgeht, ist möglich, aber nicht zwingend: Solche vorgeblich alten Traditionen können sehr jungen Ursprunges sein, in einer sehr kurzen Zeitspanne entstanden oder sogar anläßlich eines Ereignisses geschaffen.[65] Das mag im Falle der koptischen Mönchsgeschichte unwahrscheinlich sein, die sich aufgrund ihres fragmentarischen Zustandes zudem einer weitergehenden Analyse entzieht. Vor allem sind für diese, anders als im Falle des Agierens Bischof Theodoros' auf Philae, die genauen Zeitumstände ihrer schriftlichen Fixierung nicht feststellbar und damit eventuelle weitere konkrete Sinnbezüge verloren.

Strategien wie die nun skizzierten sind der frühen Kirchengeschichte auch in weiterer Perspektive nicht fremd. Nicht wenige christliche Gemeinden, im besonderen solche von später Entstehung, zweifelhafter Genese oder auch strittiger doktrinärer Ausrichtung, bildeten Traditionen aus, die der historischen Identitätsbildung ebenso wie der Begründung von Führungsansprüchen in der Lokalkirche oder in der Episkopalordnung der Provinz dienten. Damit bediente man sich einer historischen Legitimierungstechnik, die eine der verbreitetsten Formen des öffentlichen Arguments in der antiken Welt darstellte.[66]

Die Gemeinde von Edessa, die aus einem starken urbanen Judentum erwuchs und erst spät Unabhängigkeit und Profil gewann, brachte eine Gründungslegende, die *doctrina Addai*, hervor, der zufolge ein Angehöriger des jüdischen Herrscherhauses von Edessa im 1. Jahrhundert mit Jesus in brieflichen Kontakt getreten sei und die Entsendung eines Apostels namens Addai nach Edessas erwirkt habe. Dieser habe erfolgreich missioniert und den ersten Bischof der Stadt ordiniert.[67] Diese Legende, zunächst von einer christlichen Randgruppe am Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts in Umlauf gebracht, um den eigenen Führungsanspruch

[65] Siehe hierzu den klassischen Band von Howbsbawm – Ranger 1983, der eine Reihe von Fallstudien aus der Feder von Historikern und Anthropologen, vor allem auch eine wichtige theoretische Einleitung von Eric Hobsbawm enthält.

[66] Für das Feld der hellenistischen (aber auch früheren) Lokalgeschichtsschreibung bieten nicht zuletzt Inschriften ein reiches Panorama: Chaniotis 1988, 177f. und passim.

[67] Die bekannteste Fassung der Legende bietet Eus. *h. e.* 1,13; Segal 1970, 62ff.; Drijvers 1985, 90f.; Ross 2001, 131ff. Segal 1970, 82f. zeigt—ebenfalls für Edessa—eine verwandte Funktionalisierung der spätantiken Martyrologien um die ‚trajanischen' (tatsächlich wohl decischen) Märtyrer Sharbil, Babai und Barsamya mit bemerkenswerten Argumenten und Einsichten.

in der edessenischen Kirche durchzusetzen, sollte bis zur Ausbildung einer endgültigen, offiziellen Form im 5. Jahrhundert zunächst in verschiedenen Fortschreibungen unterschiedlichen Gruppen und Zwecken dienen. Die Bekämpfung des Manichäismus, die Bekehrung der heidnischen Priester, die Konversion der jüdischen Bevölkerungsgruppe, der Nachweis der orthodoxen episkopalen Sukzession seit den Tagen Addais, der politische Führungsanspruch des Bischofs in der Stadt—all diese Ziele und (natürlich) Erfolge vermochten verschiedene Versionen dieser christlichen Propagandaschrift zu artikulieren. Ihre Geschmeidigkeit bewies die Legende durch die Vereinnahmung der historischen Genealogie des lokalen Herrscherhauses und—später—durch die Integration der Kreuzauffindungslegende.[68]

Die Mehrzahl der überlieferten historischen Erzählungen zur innerkirchlichen Legitimation von christlichen Gemeinden bzw. bestimmter Glaubensauffassungen greift allerdings nicht auf Konstrukte frühchristlicher Apostolate zurück, sondern auf die spiritualisierte Erfahrung von erlittener Gewalt. Martyrien sind, wie bereits ein flüchtiger Blick in die Werke Eusebs oder in die spätantiken Martyrologien lehrt, vor allem der Stoff, aus dem historische Wurzeln dynamischer Christianisierung und Gemeindebildung synthetisiert und gemeindliche wie theologische Legitimation vitalisiert wird.

Die Anwendung von Gewalt gegen pagane Kulte, die tätige Überwindung heidnischen Irrglaubens, spielt bekanntermaßen eine große Rolle in der monastischen Hagiographie, der Schilderung von Mönchsleben auf dem Lande und der von diesen bewirkten Bekehrung der ländlichen Bevölkerung.[69] Weit weniger zahlreich sind Fälle, in denen die Zerstörung heidnischer Tempel und Kulte zum Schlüsselereignis der Christianisierung einer Stadt erklärt und in der Folge zum Kern ihrer Traditionsbildung und—wie im Falle Philaes—zum eigentlich identitätsstiftenden historischen Ereignis einer autonomen Gemeinde ausgestaltet wird. Doch gab es im christlichen Imperium der Spätantike eben auch kaum noch städtische Gesellschaften und Eliten, die—wie im palästinischen Gaza—religiös so gut wie geschlossen den traditionellen Tempelkulten anhingen und diese auch zu verteidigen bereit waren.[70]

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[68] Segal 1970, 62ff.; Drijvers 1985. Siehe unter weiteren Perspektiven zuletzt auch Mirkovic 2004.

[69] Siehe hierzu die Beiträge von Brakke und Saradi in diesem Band.

[70] Zum Falle Gazas und der Zerstörung der dortigen Tempel zu Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts samt entsprechender hagiographischer Tradition Hahn 2004, 191ff. Zur

Für Theodoros, den Bischof ohne Stadt und Umland an der Spitze einer kleinen, vermutlich weitgehend nur aus Soldaten und ihren Familienangehörigen—also überwiegend Ortsfremden—bestehenden isolierten Gemeinde, erlaubte die Zerstörung der philaenischen Kulte durch einen kaiserlichen Kommandeur mit seinen Truppen eine symbolische Neugründung der Kirche auf der Tempelinsel—eine Chance, die er entschlossen und in bemerkenswerter Weise zu nutzen wußte. Seine Selbstinszenierung als Triumphator über die mächtigen paganen Kulte hob ihn über seine Kollegen im nahegelegenen älteren und bedeutenden Syene hinaus. Erst recht aber die folgende rückhaltlose Identifikation mit der justinianischen Außen- und Religionspolitik und die aktive Rolle bei der Missionierung Nubiens gestattete diesem Bischof eine enorme Ausweitung seines Einflusses—und ließ die Irregularität und anhaltende Unklarheit der episkopalen Struktur der Kataraktregion im engeren vergessen.[71]

Nicht vergessen werden darf, daß beide untersuchte Traditionen aber unstrittige historische Realitäten ausblenden, ja verdrängen müssen, um ihre identitätsstiftende Wirksamkeit überhaupt entfalten zu können. Das Christentum war bereits mindestens zwei Generationen vor Theodoros auf Philae fest etabliert, der ansässige Bischof der wichtigste zivile Repräsentant der Inselbevölkerung und offenbar gegenüber seinem Syener Kollegen, jedenfalls hinsichtlich des militärischen Schutzes seiner Gemeinde und deren Versammlungsgebäude, sogar privilegiert. Diese Verhältnisse sind nur denkbar vor einer funktionierenden pagan-christlichen Koexistenz auf Philae. Gerade deren Fehlen ist aber die entscheidende historische Behauptung der koptischen Überlieferung, die stattdessen die anhaltende Unterdrückung der Christen (in einem christlichen Imperium) zu ihrem Ausgangspunkt nimmt.[72]

So bleibt die Feststellung zu ziehen, daß wir über drei verschiedene, miteinander inkompatible Versionen der Geschichte des Christentums

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vergleichbaren Inszenierung der gewaltsamen Konversion Alexandrias von der ‚Stadt des Serapis' zum ‚christusliebenden Alexandria' siehe Hahn im vorliegenden Band.

[71] Die Stellung und Existenz des Bistums Philae ließ sich dennoch nicht auf Dauer sichern; es überdauerte wohl nicht das 10. Jh. Im 12. Jh. hatte Syene (Assuan) Philae jedenfalls als hauptsächliches Wirtschafts- und Militärzentrum an der nubischen Grenze bereits abgelöst; Timm 1984, 395–397 mit den Belegen für die mittelbyzantinisch-islamische Zeit.

[72] Hierin weist sie bemerkenswerte Parallelen zur hagiographischen Überlieferung zu Gaza und dessen Christianisierung am Anfang des 5. Jh.s auf: Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* mit Hahn 2004, 198ff., bes. 202ff.

auf Philae und seines Verhältnisses zu den paganen Kulten der Tempelinsel verfügen. Dieser Sachverhalt sollte uns mit Blick auf andere Orte als eine deutliche Warnung dienen, christliche Überlieferungen, ob kirchenhistorischer, hagiographischer o. a. Provenienz, die doch fast immer ohne unabhängige parallele Zeugnisse oder Traditionen auf uns gekommen sind, vorbehaltlos als valide Grundlage für die Rekonstruktion der Geschichte des lokalen Christentums oder seiner Kirche zu nehmen.

Eine letzte Überlegung soll am Ende dieser Untersuchung der Christianisierung am 1. Katarakt stehen: Die Verwendung eines Argumentationsmusters, das die Wirkungsmacht von religiöser Gewalt als einer historischen Kraft fokussiert—sei es über Martyrologien oder Tempelzerstörungsberichte oder aber Inschriften wie die des Theodoros in Philae—, artikuliert und propagiert natürlich zugleich ein bestimmtes christliches Geschichtsbild, eine bestimmte Auffassung vom Werden der Kirche. Es ist ein triumphalistisches Verständnis und als solches von der Prämisse einer schlichten binären Opposition, nämlich Christen gegen Pagane (oder gegen Juden / Häretiker) diktiert. Deutlich geworden dürfte dabei aber sein, daß dieses Verständnis eine historische Realität nicht nur interpretiert, sondern gleichermaßen auch konstruiert. Diese interessegeleitete und hierüber sinnstiftende Konstruktion von Realität geschieht wesentlich durch Texte: Inschriften, Kirchengeschichten, Hagiographie, Predigten u. a. So darf es auch nicht überraschen, daß im hier untersuchten Fall, der Geschichte—und Legende—der Zerstörung der Kulte von Philae, eine grundlegende Frage offen bleibt: die nach dem tatsächlichen, alltäglichen Zusammenleben von Heiden und Christen auf der Tempelinsel in der Spätantike und seinem Wandel.

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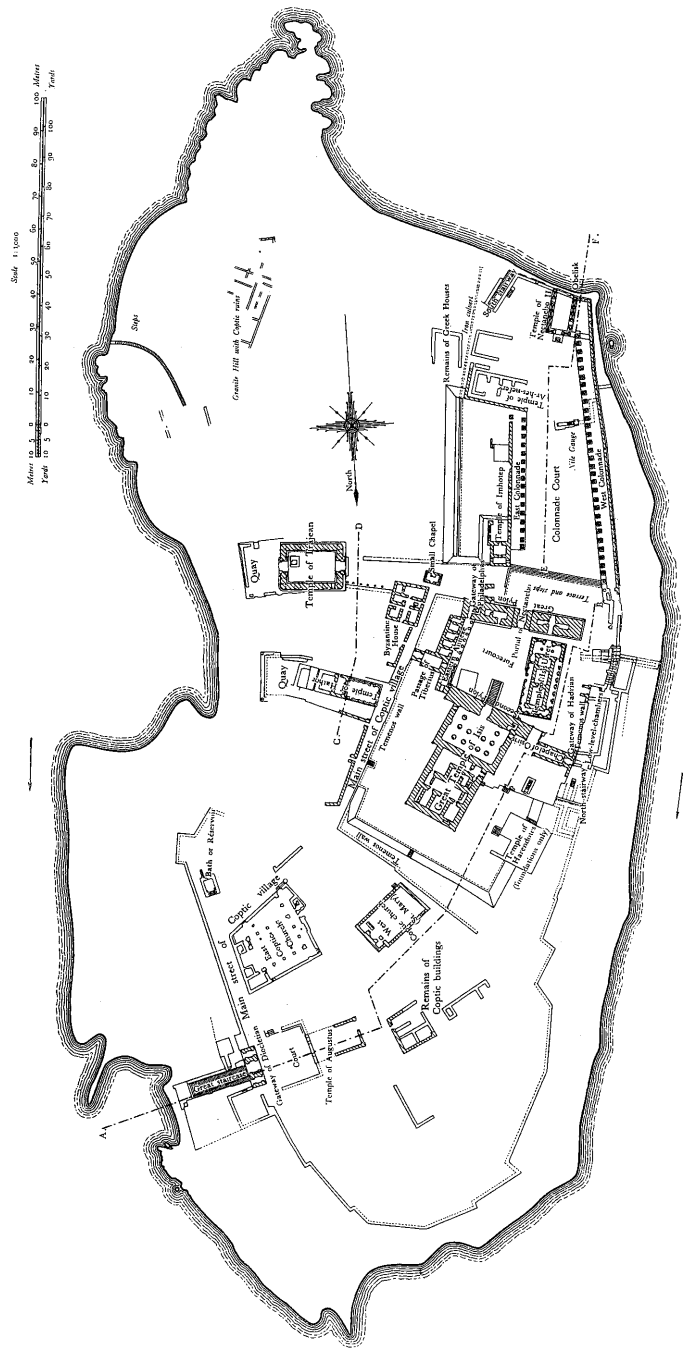

Abb. 1: Plan der Insel Philae. Nach dem Plan von J. Ball (1901) in Lyons 1908, Taf. 4.

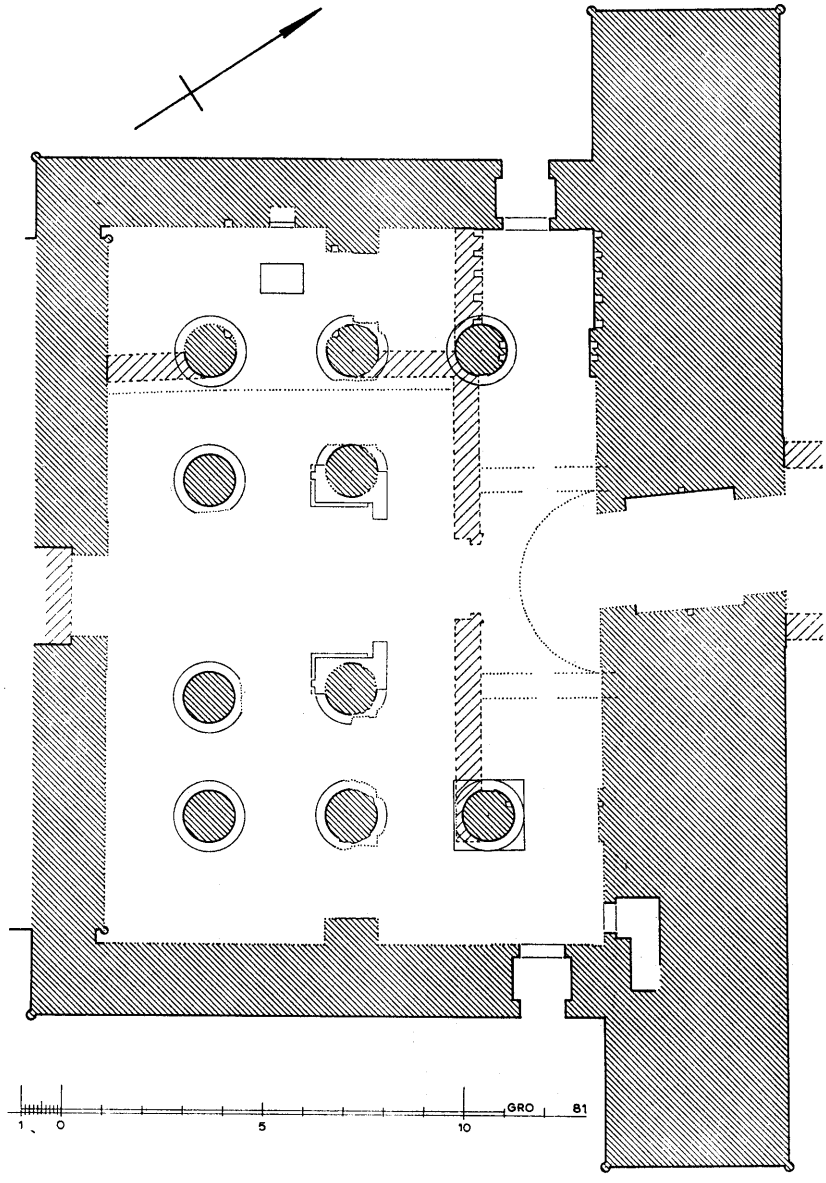

Abb. 2: Stephanoskirche im Isistempel von Philae.

CHAPTER NINE

THE CONVERSION OF THE TEMPLE OF APHRODITE AT APHRODISIAS IN CONTEXT

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1. Religious Complexity in Late Antique Aphrodisias

An inscription from Kolyda reports the following incident. During the celebration of a festival, people came together and marched against a building designated as a "basilica". Armed with swords, sticks and stones, these persons attacked the sacred slaves and smashed the statues of the gods.[1] This incident has nothing to do with the attacks of Christians against pagan images or with the conversion of Greek temples to churches, since the inscription is safely dated to the late second century A.D. But it is still instructive for the problems a modern historian faces when attempting to determine the historical context of incidents of religious vandalism: the event can be dated, but the precise historical context is a puzzle; the identity of the attackers remains unknown.

In the case of the Christian attacks against pagan temples and images, the protagonists are often known; the descriptions of such events take a prominent place in the vitae of the early saints, and sometimes the protagonists themselves commemorated their deeds by setting up an inscription. Diomedes converted—after a vision—a temple of Theandrios into a church of St. George in 515/6 in Zorava;[2] and in fifth-century Ephesos, Demeas proudly commemorated in a metrical inscription the fact that he had destroyed a statue of Artemis: "I, Demeas," he declares,

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NOTE: I have already discussed aspects of this subject in the David Lewis Lecture (Oxford, May 2001) and in Chaniotis 2002a and 2002b. This article was last revised in 2005. Books and articles which appeared after 2004 could only be taken into consideration in exceptional cases. For Roueché 1989 the reader should now also consult the electronic second edition (http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004); for the inscriptions of Aphrodisias found until 1994 see the electronic corpus: http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/index.html.

[1] Herrmann – Malay 2007, 110–13 no. 84.

[2] *OGIS* 610; Merkelbach – Stauber 2002, no. 22/14/03.

"have thrown down the deceiving beauty of Artemis, the demon, and I have set up this symbol of truth, honouring the god who drives away the images. I have set up the cross, the immortal and victorious symbol of Christ."[3] Many centuries earlier (356 B.C.) another man, by the name of Herostratos, had burned down Artemis's temple in the same city in order to make his name immortal.[4] It seems that Artemis Ephesia had a particular talent for provoking eponymous attacks.[5]

To detect the exact historical context of the conversion of a pagan temple into a church and to illuminate all the facets of a complex phenomenon is not an easy task. This study concerns a city the very name of which was such an embarrassment for every Christian that it had to be erased not only on stone, but also in memory. Sometime in the seventh century, the city of Aphrodite became the city of the Cross (Stauropolis),[6] and this symbol covered the walls of the public buildings (see fig. 1). In this city, the conversion of the temple of Aphrodite was an enormous project that required the dismantling of all the columns of the peristasis and their relocation in order to provide space for a three-nave basilica (fig. 2).[7] We know the names of some of the men and women who had dedicated the columns of the pagan temple;[8] on the contrary, the bishop, the governor, the architect, the men—we are certainly dealing with men—responsible for the project of converting the temple to a church remain anonymous. The exact date of the conversion is also not known. New numismatic finds suggest that the building works began during (or shortly after) the reign of Leo I (457–474).[9]

How important was this event for the process of Christianisation in Aphrodisias? Did it mark the end of the conflict between Christians and

[3] *IEph* IV 1351 = Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, no. 03/02/48. Pont 2004, 561. See also the building inscription of the bishop Iovianus in Korkyra, who proudly states that he had destroyed the temene and the altars of the Hellenes (*IG* IX.1^2.4 1191, fifth century).

[4] Strab. 14, C 640.

[5] For an earlier attack against an image of Artemis Ephesia in Sardes, see *IEph* I 2 and Masson 1987.

[6] Roueché 1989, 144–146, 149–151.

[7] Hebert 2000, 35–77; Ratté 2001, 130–133.

[8] *MAMA* VIII 437–438 and 450; Reinach 1906, 220–221 no. 122.

[9] Smith – Ratté 2000, 227; Ratté 2001, 133. Different dates had been suggested in the past by Roueché 1989, 153–154 (sixth century); Cormack 1990, 84 (around 450, perhaps after the visit of Theodosius II); and Trombley 1993–1994, 2:52–53, 66–67 (around 490–500, after the revolt of Illus).

pagans or did it provoke it? A fragmentary text, approximately dated to the late fifth century, praises someone who drove away the civil strife (*enphylion derin*) which was destroying the city (*olesiptolin*). Aphrodite is named in the small fragment, but the context is not clear (see fig. 3).[10] Was the conflict a religious one? And if yes, was it a conflict between Christians and pagans or among orthodox Christians and heretics? Perhaps we will never know, but it is interesting to note that unlike other inscriptions of this period, this epigraphic monument is decorated with a leaf, and not with a cross, as if the mason was trying to avoid the use of religious symbols. It is tempting to identify the conflict mentioned in this epigram with a religiously motivated revolt in Asia Minor around A.D. 482. When the emperor Zenon issued his *Enotikon* attempting to unite the church, this led to a revolt of Orthodox Christians who allied themselves with their enemy's enemy: with the pagans.[11] Was this civil strife connected with the temple's conversion? And did the conversion really have the meaning that we want to attribute to it, as the symbol of Christianity's triumph? Were the Christians perhaps only occupying valuable space that was left unoccupied because nobody was worshipping Aphrodite anyway? Had cult practice stopped in the temple almost two centuries earlier, as it had stopped in the Sebasteion that was transformed into a market place?[12] In order to understand the conversion of the temple, it is not only the temple we should be examining, but also the religious situation in the fifth and early sixth centuries at Aphrodisias.

This examination has already been made to a great extent by Charlotte Roueché (1989), Glen Bowersock (1990), Frank Trombley (1993–1994), and Polymnia Athanassiadi (1999). Their studies underline the strong presence of the pagans until the early sixth century. Less attention has, however, been paid to the interaction of the pagans with other religious groups, with the Jews in particular. The absence of the Jews from studies on late antique Aphrodisias is the result of the dating of the most important piece of evidence for the Aphrodisian Jews to a much earlier period (see below). By disregarding one of the largest religious communities of the city, we cannot fully understand the context in which the conversion of the temple of Aphrodite should be

[10] Roueché 1989, no. 64; Trombley 1993–1994, 2:68; Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, no. 02/09/26.

[11] Trombley 1993–1994, 2:21–22; Haas 1997, 319–327.

[12] Ratté 2001, 133.

placed. As I will try to show, the conversion is a significant episode in a slow and complex process of interaction, construction of identities, and competition, not between two groups (Christians and pagans), but among three groups (Christians, pagans, and Jews). It should be stressed at the very beginning that with the exception of two detailed narratives, the *Life of Severus* by Zacharias and Damascius's *Philosophical History*, most of the evidence at our disposal is equivocal, ambiguous, vague. Ambiguities and vagueness confront us with often insoluble problems of interpretation; but in the case of late antique Aphrodisias (and late antique cities, in general), religious ambiguity should be seen as a contemporary cultural phenomenon, not as a modern methodological problem. Ambiguity and vagueness are the strongest evidence for the religious complexities of this period.

2. Frustrated Christians, Attractive Jews…

A small Christian community must have existed at Aphrodisias as early as the third century, since some of its members were victims of the persecution around 300.[13] A bishop is attested for the year 325.[14] Tolerated from 311 onwards, then supported by the emperors, but also divided as a result of dogmatic conflicts, Christianity advanced in Aphrodisias as in the rest of Asia Minor. Among the early Christians one finds representatives of all social strata: artisans, a musician, a doctor, members of the municipal administration.[15] One of the most eloquent texts is the funerary epigram of Athanasios, who after performing every civic duty in Aphrodisias and travelling in the entire world returned to his city sometime in the (later?) fourth century to be buried near the graves of the martyrs.[16] An increasing number of public inscriptions were decorated with crosses, the earliest datable cross being the one on an honorary inscription for Aelia Flacilla, wife of Theodosius I

[13] Roueché 1989, 15–16 and no. 163; Horst 1990, 172.

[14] Roueché 1989, 322. It is still not certain whether the "bishop's palace", between the North Agora and the temple, deserves this designation; see Ratté 2001, 129–130.

[15] A trouser-maker: Roueché 1989, no. 189; ironworkers: no. 208; a barber: no. 191; a second Christian barber is mentioned in a still unpublished inscription; a butcher: no. 117 i; a cloakroom attendant: no. 190; a musician: no. 113 i; a physician: no. 169; members of the elite: nos. 68, 73, 74, 205. Cf. Trombley 1993–1994, 2:58, 70.

[16] Roueché 1989, no. 163.

(ca. 379–386).[17] None of this is surprising. More surprising is the self-confident appearance of Jews and pagans.

The entire evidence on the Aphrodisian Jews can be dated to late antiquity.[18] The most important piece of evidence is the famous list of Jews and *theosebeis* who contributed to an unspecified work (fig. 4).[19] This inscription, written on the front side of a pillar, should not be dated to ca. 200, as suggested in the *editio princeps*, but to the fourth century.[20] A second inscription (which is usually taken to be the beginning of the list of Jews and *theosebeis*), is written on the left narrow side of the same pillar (fig. 5). This second inscription is substantially later (early fifth century or later) and has nothing to do with the first text, except for the fact that it also concerns donors belonging to the Jewish community.[21] If these two "donor inscriptions"—and the Jewish community in general—have not been discussed in the context of religious interaction in Aphrodisias in late antiquity, it is because of the early chronology suggested in the edition of these texts.

In addition to the donor inscriptions, Jewish symbols and texts have been found in many areas of the city: in the Bouleuterion, the Sebasteion, in the North and South Agoras, near the east gate, possibly the stadium, and in a cemetery outside the city. Seat inscriptions in the Bouleuterion were reserved for the Jews (fig. 6), a lamp decorated with a menorah was found in the Agora, and Jewish religious symbols

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[17] Roueché 1989, no. 23. Cf. Trombley 1993–1994, 2:54. For examples of crosses in inscriptions, see Roueché 1989, nos. 23, 38, 41, 42, 59, 62, 68–70, 73, 74, 83, 142, 155, 171, 172, 175, 188, 202, 208.

[18] Chaniotis 2002a.

[19] Reynolds – Tannenbaum 1987. There is an extensive bibliography on these inscriptions (cf. *SEG* XXXVI 970; XXXIX 1100, 1105 and 1841; XLI 918; XLIV 862; XLV 1503; XLVIII 1323). I mention only a few studies: Horst 1990; Trebilco 1991, 107–110, 152–155, 179, 182–183; Murphy-O'Connor 1992; Williams 1992; Botermann 1993; Bonz 1994; Ameling 2004, 71–112; Koch 2006.

[20] Chaniotis 2002a (with the earlier bibliography).

[21] Chaniotis 2002a, 218 ("probably sometime in the fifth century"); Gilbert 2004 has presented strong arguments in favor of a date in the fourth century also for this second text: imperial legislation banished Jews from imperial administration in the early fifth century and prosecuted conversion to Judaism. Consequently, the three proselytes and the Jew with the office of the palatinos, who are mentioned in this text, make a date after the end of the fourth century (or after A.D. 418) unlikely. But as this article, hopefully, makes clear, the evidence from Aphrodisias shows that in this city the legislation of Christian emperors against the followers of other religions was often ignored or challenged. Cf. the remarks of Magness 2005, 460–462. I still find a date in the early fifth century more probable than an earlier date. Ameling 2004, 77–82, accepts the late date (after the mid. fourth century) for both inscriptions.

(menorah, lulab, ethrog) were engraved on the walls and columns of various buildings.[22] Most of the Jewish symbols are found in the Sebasteion (fig. 7), a building complex dedicated to the emperor cult, which in late antiquity was occupied by traders. In most cases, the drawings were carefully carved and conspicuous. Another area which obviously offered space to Jewish stores was the spacious South Agora, repaired in the early sixth century. Under two of the acclamations written on the columns of the west portico to commemorate Albinus's benefactions, there are two large menoroth (fig. 8).

All this evidence can be dated to the period between ca. 330 and 500. It is widely distributed over the entire city. The Jews and those sympathetic to Judaism represent a broad spectrum of social positions and occupations;[23] among the Jews of the earlier of the two donor inscriptions one finds a rag dealer, a greengrocer, a poulterer, two confectioners, a shepherd, three bronzesmiths, and a goldsmith. The *theosebeis* include nine members of the council, but also fullers, a purple-dyer, several persons who worked in the flourishing "stone industry" of Aphrodisias (a sculptor, a stone-cutter, a marble-worker), a carpenter, a money-changer, two metal-workers, and two athletes. The Jews of Aphrodisias engraved the symbols of their religious belief on the walls of public buildings, and three persons in the later donor inscription did not conceal the fact that they were proselytes, despite the prohibitions against conversion. The 54 *theosebeis* attest to the fact that many Aphrodisians sympathised with the Jewish religion.

In the fourth century, the competition (but also the mutual influence) between Christianity and Judaism is well attested; not only pagans but also Christians attended the synagogue—a problem often addressed by the Christian Fathers.[24] Some of the donors in the two donor inscriptions may in fact be Christians or members of Christian families. The father of a proselyte in the later donor inscription bears the name Eusebios,

[22] For a list, see Chaniotis 2002a, 236–239; cf. Reynolds – Tannenbaum 1987, 132–140.

[23] See the discussion of the trade designations in the donor inscriptions in Reynolds – Tannenbaum 1987, 116–131.

[24] Horst 1990, 176–181; Neusner 1991, 30–92; Trebilco 1991, 27–32; Feldman 1993, 356–358, 369–382, 383–415; Dassmann 1996, 137–141; Hahn 1996; Haas 1997, 288–289, 296–316; Castritius 1998; Horbury 1998; Rajak 1998; Rutgers 1995, 220–224.

used more often by the Christians than by other groups.[25] We are on safer ground in the case of the *theosebeis* with the characteristic Christian name Gregorios (fig. 9), which alludes to the duty of the Christian to be alert and watchful (*gregorein*) with regard to sins.[26]

Some of this evidence may come from the reign of Julian, during which the position of the Jews improved, but some of it is certainly later (e.g., the seat inscriptions of the Bouleuterion), dating to a period in which the legislation of the Christian emperors discriminated against the Jews. Signs of discrimination can be seen in Aphrodisias as well, but later than the fourth century. The name Hebraioi was erased in the Bouleuterion as were several representations of menoroth (fig. 10).[27] The Christians who converted the temple of Aphrodite were not only in conflict with the polytheists; they were also in competition with the Jews.

3. ...and Stubborn Pagans

The presence of the late polytheists is equally prominent in the city's public record until the late fifth century. The best known followers of Hellenic religion are the late antique philosophers in the circle of Asklepiodotos of Aphrodisias and his homonymous son-in-law in the late fifth century. The evidence about these persons contained in the philosophical history of Damascius and the evidence about pagans in Aphrodisias provided by Zacharias's *Life of Severus* have monopolised scholarly interest, thus causing it to overlook some more humble evidence that nonetheless demonstrates the persistence of the old religion in wide circles in Aphrodisias. I begin with two such pieces of evidence, to which little attention has been given.

One of the prominent figures in Aphrodisias during the reign of Constantine (or even after this time) was the sculptor Flavius Zenon, who had the rank of a *comes* and *perfectissimus*. He is known from his signature as the sculptor of four statues in Rome as well as from two dedications in Aphrodisias.[28] His rank as a *comes* provides a reliable terminus post quem: the mid-320s. In all these texts, Zenon mentions that he was an *archiereus*, a title that in Aphrodisias is used to designate

[25] For the evidence see Chaniotis 2002a, 224–225.

[26] Chaniotis 2002a, 231, with the evidence on Gregorios and with further examples.

[27] Reynolds – Tannenbaum 1987, 132 no. 1b, and 133–134 no. 4; cf. Chaniotis 2002a, 228 no. 11.

[28] Roueché – Erim 1982 (*IG* XIV 1268–1271 and Roueché 1989, nos. 11–12).

the high priest of the emperor cult. It is generally assumed that Zenon was high priest of the provincial emperor cult in Caria; the provincial assembly continued to convene in Aphrodisias until the late fifth or early sixth century,[29] and one could assume that the title of the provincial *archiereus* remained in use, even though the cult of the emperor had ceased to be practiced. There is, however, evidence for the continuation of the emperor cult in the Greek East until the fifth century,[30] so that one cannot exclude a priori the possibility of a similar practice in Aphrodisias. But there is more in favour of the assumption that the title *archiereus* is to be taken in its literal sense. This title was erased on one of the dedicatory inscriptions of Flavius Zenon in Aphrodisias and, as Charlotte Roueché has rightly pointed out, this suggests that Zenon held a contentious office; this can hardly have been an office of the provincial assembly.[31] Roueché's alternative interpretation is far more plausible: Zenon may have held the high priesthood at municipal level. This office was reintroduced by Maximinus in an act of conscious opposition to Christianity. If this interpretation is correct, this would be one of the latest attestations of such an office. The title of the high priest is written on dozens of inscriptions dating to the Imperial period (first to third centuries) in Aphrodisias. The fact that it was erased only on this one, and not on the inscriptions that had been erected much earlier, suggests that the word was erased by Christians shortly after Zenon's death, when the pagan connotations of his office were still vivid and offensive to them.

It has not hitherto been noticed that Zenon's high priesthood during the reign of Constantine is neither an isolated, nor possibly the last, attestation of this office. We should now turn to the second piece of evidence, a fragmentary (and now apparently lost) inscription, which is very instructive as evidence for the religious complexity in Aphrodisias in the fourth century. The text was published by William M. Calder and J.M.R. Cormack (*MAMA* VIII 457, with photo) as follows:

Πολυχρόνιος ὁ τῆς [ἀρχ?]-
ειερίας γανβρὸς εὐ<ξ>ά[μενος?]
τῷ θεῷ εἰς τὸ ἁγίασμ[α]
τὸ Φλ. Ἐρ. ἐποίησα

[29] Roueché 1989, 33.

[30] Clauss 1999, 196–215 (emperor cult under Constantius II; e.g., *SEG* VII 2456); Schmid 2001, 141 (temple for the emperor cult in Eretria). For the survivals of the emperor cult in North Africa, see Chastagnol – Duval 1974.

[31] Roueché 1989, 28–29.

The editors remark that at the end of line 2 one reads on the stone EYCI, which should rather be restored as εὐσε̣[βῶς]. We do not know with certainty how much of the text is missing, but the reading of lines 1–2 suggests that only a few letters have been broken off. A plausible reading of the text is:

Πολυχρόνιος ὁ τῆς [ἀρχ]-
ιερίας γανβρὸς εὐσε̣[βῶς?]
τῷ θεῷ εἰς τὸ ἁγίασμ[α]
τὸ Φλ. Ἐρ. ἐποίησα

There can be little doubt that the text should be dated to the fourth century. The *nomen gentile* Flavius in connection with the letter forms (lunate sigma and epsilon, cursive omega) lead to a date during or after the reign of Constantine I.[32] The restoration [ἀρχ]ιερίας is also very plausible; εἰερίας (= ἱερίας) is also possible, but in that case one expects the name of the god or goddess as well.[33] Among the inscriptions of Aphrodisias, published and unpublished, I know only one case in which the word "priest" or "priestess" is not followed by the name of a divinity; it is an honorary statue for Attalis Apphion, daughter of Menekrates, son of Andron, high priestess and priestess ([Ἀ]τ̣τ̣α̣λ̣ί̣δ̣α Μενεκράτ[ους] | τ̣οῦ ῎Ανδρωνος ῎Απφιο[ν] | ἀ̣ρχιέρειαν καὶ ἱέρειαν);[34] on the contrary, the title *archiereia*, although often followed by the word *Sebaston*, is equally often used alone.[35] There is a stronger argument in favor of [ἀρχ]ιερίας: it corresponds to the Aphrodisian habit of indicating the relationship of a dedicator or an honoree to persons of high status; L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus, who was honored around A.D. 245, is stated to be "a son and a descendant of high priests of Asia and of (municipal) high priests";[36] Attalis is called "the daughter of Neikomachos, a high priest".[37] The case of Flavius Zenon shows

[32] The letters are very similar to Roueché 1989, no. 12, which can be dated to ca. A.D. 300–350.

[33] E.g., *MAMA* VIII 450, *CIG* 2782 (priests of Aphrodite); *MAMA* VIII 478 (priestess of Artemis), 492 (priestess of Hera), 516 (priest of Helios); Reinach 1906, 109–110 no. 29 (priest of Asklepios); *CIG* 2818 (priest of Dionysos).

[34] *SEG* XXI 900.

[35] *MAMA* VIII 564; Reinach 1906, 116 no. 37 and 136–137 no. 69; Le Bas – Waddington 1870, no. 1607.

[36] *SEG* XLIV 863: υἱοῦ καὶ ἐκγόνου Ἀσίας ἀρχιερέων καὶ ἀρχιερέων; cf. *CIG* 2793; Le Bas – Waddington 1870, 1596 bis; *MAMA* VIII 518; for another γαμβρός, see Reinach 1906, 144–145 no. 77.

[37] Jacopi 1940, 225 no. 6. Cf. Le Bas – Waddington 1870, no. 1607.

that the presence in Aphrodisias of a high priestess during or after the reign of Constantine I should not be surprising.

The vagueness of this text immediately attracts attention (cf. below): Polychronios dedicated an unspecified holy place (*hagiasma*) to an unspecified god for the well-being (?) of a person, whose name is abbreviated (Fl. Er.); Polychronios identified himself as "the son-in-law of the priestess", who remains anonymous. Both the high priestess and Fl. Er. must have been known to Polychronios's circle, otherwise the reference to them would be entirely meaningless. As the son-in-law of an *archiereia*, Polychronios may have been connected with the circle of the late polytheists at Aphrodisias, and this may provide a clue for the identity of Flavius Er. The two first letters of the cognomen may belong to many names,[38] but the probable prominence of Fl. Er. and the date of the inscription (ca. 300–350) rather lead to an identification with the provincial governor of Caria under Constantius II, Flavius Quinctilius Eros Monaxius (ca. 355–360), who was most probably a pagan. Eros Monaxius is known from the building inscription of the West Gate of Aphrodisias, in which he stresses the mythological kinship between Crete and Aphrodisias. Roueché has argued convincingly that he should be identified with Eros, a recently appointed governor to whom Libanius addressed a letter, in which the pagan orator explicitly alludes to the Cretan myths.[39] It should be noted that in this period Crete, which was very reluctant in the acceptance of Christianity, seems to have played an important role for late Hellenists. In an epigram dedicated to Hera on Samos by Plutarchos, governor of the *provincia insularum* under Julian, Plutarch underlines his pilgrimage to the cave of Zeus Idaios immediately after his appointment.[40] The allusions to Cretan myths both in Libanius's letter to governor Eros and in the building inscription of governor Eros Monaxios make Roueché's suggestion about the identity of Eros Monaxios and his pagan associations almost certain. It should be noted that Libanios uses the name Eros, not Monaxios or Eros Monaxios, and this suggests that this man was known under this name among his friends.

There is, of course, no way to prove that Polychronios, a relative of the high priestess of the emperors, made his dedication for the well-

[38] E.g. Hermias; cf. Roueché 1989, no. 72.
[39] Roueché 1989, 37–38.
[40] Chaniotis 1987 (see now *IG* XII.6.2 584).

being of the provincial governor, Fl(avius) Er(os), but what seems certain is that Polychronios, his mother-in-law, and Eros Monaxios belonged to the circle of those who refused to accept the victory of Christianity.

This evidence antedates the reign of Julian. But even one generation after the death of the last pagan emperor, public inscriptions continue to challenge Christianity. An honorary inscription set up for Honorius around 390 not only uses a provocatively pagan vocabulary, but also presupposes the performance of pagan rituals: "Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus . . . dedicated (ἀφιέρωσεν) the statue of Flavius Honorius, of divine descent (τὸν ἐκ τῆς θείας γονῆς), most dear to God (θεοφιλέστατον) . . . with the customary consecration (τῇ συνήθει καθοσιώσει)."[41] The dedicator, Tatianus, a prominent pagan, underlines the divine descent of the emperor and states that the statue was dedicated after the customary rites had been performed—these rites included the offering of sacrifices which had been forbidden only a few years earlier.[42] Tatianus was executed in A.D. 392, possibly because of his religious beliefs; his name was erased from this inscription; years later his son restored his statue.[43]

Flavius Zenon, Polychronios, Eros Monaxios, and Tatianus were all members of either the municipal elite or of the imperial aristocracy with a more or less clear preference for the traditional religion. Some of their inscriptions suffered under Christian attacks: the title *archiereus* was erased in Zenon's inscription, the name of Tatianus on the base of Honorius' statue. In both cases we can safely assume that these attacks took place shortly after the erection of the inscriptions, and not in the fifth or sixth century. Thus, these texts provide valuable information on the climate of aggressive competition in the fourth century. More evidence for contemporary perception of different religious attitudes was presented recently by R.R.R. Smith (2002), with the publication of the marble head of Oecumenius, governor of Caria. As Smith has shown, a Christian sculptor engraved the Christian abbreviation ΧΜΓ (usually interpreted as the acronym of Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾷ, "Maria

[41] Roueché 1989, no. 25. Cf. a building inscription at Tafas in southern Syria, in which the governor Fl. Antonius Hierokles (ca. A.D. 343–348) declares that he was totally devoted to the divinity of the emperors (*dia pantos kathosiomenou tei theoteti auton*; *SEG* VII 256).

[42] Chaniotis 2003, 12.

[43] See the discussion in Roueché 1989, 50–52 and 64–66.

gives birth to Christ").[44] There is, of course, no way we can know for certain why the sculptor engraved this Christian symbol on the head of the statue he was making, in a position which was invisible to any ancient spectator, and in such a way as to make it readable only to anyone standing behind it. Smith has, however, presented several plausible arguments for the view that the sculptor's Christian beliefs stood in contrast to those of the governor, whose statue he had been instructed to make. The identity of Oecumenius is a matter of controversy.[45] A governor of Crete by the name of Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus is known in the early 380s; there can be little doubt about his pagan connections, among others with the prominent pagan senator Agorius Praetextatus in Rome. If he is the same person as the governor of Caria, he must have served in Crete later, since this province had a higher rank—unless he was demoted to Caria because of his pagan beliefs. Both the governor of Crete and the governor of Caria were men of letters, interested in Latin literature, and this fact would support their identification, but the governor of Caria could well be a relative, perhaps the son of the governor of Crete, who shared with the father his interest in Latin prose, most probably also his religious beliefs. The honorary epigram for Oecumenius in Aphrodisias is vague with regard to religious beliefs, with the exception of the idea of the purity of the mind, which has deep roots in Greek sacred laws, but was also adopted by Christianity.[46] If Oecumenius was Christian, it would be surprising that his honorary inscription makes no allusion to his faith, and instead the sculptor had "christened" the statue. The most plausible assumption is that Oecumenius was pagan. If so, he was not the last pagan governor of Aphrodisias. From an inscription dated to ca. A.D. 450 we are informed that the governor Dulcitius, who served as Maioumarches, was responsible for the celebration of the pagan festival of Maioumas.[47]

Even later, around 480, an honorary epigram for Pytheas, a prominent political figure, begins with the words: "City of the Paphian goddess

[44] The meanining of ΧΜΓ is a matter of controversy. See most recently LLEWELYN 1997–1998, 156–168.

[45] ROUECHÉ 1989, 55 (with further bibliography).

[46] CHANIOTIS 1997.

[47] ROUECHÉ 1989, no. 40; ROUECHÉ 1993, no. 65; TROMBLEY 1993–1994, 2:54–55; MERKELBACH – STAUBER 1998, 02/09/07. For the celebration of this festival in late antiquity, see MENTZU-MEIMARE 1996, who assumes, however (p. 70), that Dulcitius did not preside over the celebration, but only had the honorary title of the Maioumarches.

and of Pytheas."[48] The author reminds us that his fatherland was still the city of Aphrodite; Pytheas's building activity is described with the words *ktissen aparchomenos* ("he has built as a first-fruit offering"). His benefactions are again provocatively praised as a dedication to Aphrodite. This religious environment attracted, around 450, the pagan philosopher Asklepiodotos of Alexandria.[49] He found a flourishing group of polytheists, and he married the daughter of one of Aphrodisias's leading men, the homonymous philosopher Asklepiodotos. A large house near the Sebasteion, decorated with images of intellectuals of the old times and their disciples, among them the images of Pythagoras and Apollonios of Tyana, may be the seat of Asklepiodotos's school.[50] He is said to have invented devices for the more spectacular celebration of rituals, to have composed hymns, and to have performed miracles—all this in a period in which rituals should have been punished with death. This evidence is not simply evidence for the persistence of pagan rituals; it is evidence for the open defiance of antipagan legislation.[51] The *Life of Severus* reports of pagans who were performing sacrifices still during the war provoked by Zenon's *Enotikon* in 482, and who were expecting the restoration of the old cults.[52]

4. Constructing Religious Identities: Names and Symbols

In this context of a complex religious competition, the construction of identities becomes a predominant concern of religious groups. Rituals, liturgical texts, names, symbols, and the use of specific terms may serve as the means by which identities are constructed and expressed. Given the nature of the sources in Aphrodisias, we recognize the signs of this

[48] Roueché 1989, no. 56 (Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 02/09/19); Trombley 1993–1994, 2:61–62; Smith 1999, 167–168.

[49] For the philosopher Asklepiodotos and his homonymous father-in-law, see Robert 1948, 115–126; Roueché 1989, 85–93; Trombley 1993–1994, 1:12, 42–44, 79, 81, 84, 88, 94; 2:5–7, 15, 20–21, 24, 26, 47, 58, 60–62, 67, 72; Athanassiadi 1999, 202–233, 248–249, 284–285, 348–349, fragments nos. 80–83, 85–87, 90–91, 93, 95, 103, 122.

[50] Smith 1990 and 1991. A female medallion has been identified by Hafner (1998) as a portrait of the famous pagan philosopher Hypatia, but this identification is far from certain.

[51] Similar phenomena of defiance are known in other areas in this period. Although Constantius II ordered the closing of the oracle in the Memnonion of Abydos in A.D. 359, a graffito with a horoscope was inscribed by a pilgrim ca. 370–410 (Rutherford 2000).

[52] Bowersock 1990, 3; Trombley 1993–1994, 2:22.

process primarily in the onomastic material. A name is not always an unequivocal indicator of religious beliefs, and name change does not necessarily follow upon conversion.[53] But in deeply divided communities, names can be instrumentalised in order to express ethnic, political, or religious identities. In Aphrodisias, the two Jewish donor inscriptions preserve the names of members of a particular group; both inscriptions present an abundance of names in closed contexts. Thirty-nine out of one hundred (39%) Jews had biblical or Hebrew names such as Benjamin, Zacharias, Jacob, Judas, Joseph, Josua, Rouben, Samuel, and Symeon.[54] Another large group have rare names related to religious or moral values such as love of God, good behaviour, and the willingness to offer consolation. Many of these names are translations of Hebrew names: Heortasios corresponds to Haggai, Theodotos to Jonathan and Nathaniel, Theophilos to Eldad. More than half of the Jews have names which bear a religious message. Such an onomastic uniformity is unparalled in the Greek East in earlier periods, but it can be observed in the same period in other areas with strong Jewish communities, e.g., in Cyrenaica; the sudden appearance of biblical or Hebrew names from the fourth century onwards should probably be regarded as the result of the competition between Christians and Jews, rather than as the result of a massive migration of Jews from Palestine. The Jews in Aphrodisias and elsewhere used their names as a means of identity and separation.

Similarly, the majority of Aphrodisian Christians from the fourth to the sixth centuries bear names that reveal their religious identity. They adopt names of apostles, evangelists, and angels (e.g., Ioannes, Loukas, Michael, Petros, Stephanos), and names related to the Lord (Kyriakos), and to religious values or cultic peculiarities, such as Iordanes (an allusion to baptism), Athanasios (a reference to the immortality of the soul), Anastasios (an expression of the hope of resurrection), and Eustathios and Eudoxia, references to the firm and correct faith.[55] Any pagan or

[53] Horsley 1987; cf. Roques 1998 (on the name Theoteknos).

[54] Chaniotis 2002a, 229–230. An analogous exploitation of personal names for the expression of identity has been recently observed in Israel. As the *Herald Tribune* reported (14 September 1998), "European family names, which Jews acquired in their generations of dispersion around the world, are being switched to Old Testament or Palestine geographical names in Israel's latest step towards nationalism."

[55] The following Christians at Aphrodisias have names which reflect Christian beliefs or are connected with apostles, saints, etc. (references are to inscription numbers in Roueché 1989): Anastasios (94–95), Athanasios (163, 171, 181 vi), Eudoxia (unpublished

Jew can have a name like Theodoros or Theophilos; but names like Theodokios, Theodoretos, Theoktistos, Theophylaktos, and Theopropios are new creations which make such misunderstandings impossible. And if a Christian inconveniently has the name Asklepiodotos,[56] a cross on his inscription made clear that he had nothing to do with the homonymous pagan philosophers of Aphrodisias and their beliefs.

In spite of the competition and confrontation, in spite of the tensions and even the bloody conflicts, we can discern some signs of contacts, of a mutual influence, of the crossing of the religious boundaries. I have already mentioned the *theosebeis* and the proselytes, also the possibility of the offspring of Christian families in the Jewish donor inscriptions. Paralios of Aphrodisias is another example of the crossing of the religious boundaries within the same family in A.D. 480.[57] Born into a pagan family, he worshipped the old gods exactly as his three brothers did. His oldest brother was the first to become a Christian, with the characteristic name Athanasios, during a stay in Alexandria; then he joined the monastery of Enaton in Egypt. Paralios followed him to see if miracles happened in the temple of Isis. He returned to Aphrodisias a Christian and tried to convert the other two brothers to Christianity.

The interpenetration of ideas and forms of religious expression can be detected in the use of the same religious vocabulary by pagans, Christians, and Jews, which makes it often so difficult to attribute an inscription to one of the three communities. A characteristic example of this religious complexity is the aforementioned dedication of Polychronios to the god; we have already seen that Polychronios can plausibly be associated with the circle of the late antique Hellenists; the vocabulary of his dedication evokes Jewish or Christian influence: the object of his dedication is called a *hagiasma*, a term which is often used both

graffito in the South Agora), Eustathios (unpublished graffito in the theatre), Ioannes (73, 103, 171, 205), Iordanes (156), Kyriakos (93, 168, 189), Loukas (187), Michael (119, 124), Petros (118 i), Philippos (122), Photios (68–70), Stephanos (120, 121 i, 155), Theochares (102), Theodokios (174), Theodoretos (92–93 and an unpublished epitaph), Theodoros (114–115, 169, 192), Theoktistos (202, 204), Theophanes (134 iii), Theophilos (117 i), Theophylaktos (132), Theopompos (89), Theopropios (165–166); cf. Eudoxios (Roueché 1989, 323).

[56] Roueché 1989, no. 175.

[57] Trombley 1993–1994, 2:3–28, 47–50, 60–68. For an earlier example in Phrygia (ca. 300–350), see the epigrams for members of a family which included both pagans and Novatian Christians: Buckler – Calder – Cox 1927; Merkelbach – Stauber 2002, 16/31/93. The silver hoards of late antiquity suggest that pagans and Christians co-existed in the same household (Hannestadt 1999, 201 with references).

in the Septuaginta and in Christian inscriptions.[58] Another example is the dedication of Flavios Eusebios, a former soldier, to Theos Epekoos, sometime in the second half of the fourth century.[59] The name Eusebios was very popular among the Christians, but it was occasionally used by Jews as well. The dedicant uses the Jewish expression "from the gifts of God" which, however, was adopted by Christians as well. It is improbable that Eusebios was a Jew, since he had been a soldier (*primipilarius*). The recipient of the dedication ("the god who listens") does not solve the puzzle, since the expression *theos epekoos* is widely attested for a variety of pagan gods, but never attested in Christian texts and uncertainly in Jewish ones. Are we dealing with a Jew with a Christian name who uses a pagan expression to address his god, or with a pagan with a Christian name influenced by Jewish ideas, or with a Christian using Jewish and pagan phrases, or with a *theosebeis*, a worshipper of Theos Hypsistos, or with a soldier who converted to Judaism? We should not be distressed by the fact that we will never know, because this will not diminish the value of this text as evidence for religious interpenetration.[60]

The religious ambiguities of this period are, finally, clear in a group of seven pagan grave inscriptions from the fourth to the early sixth centuries which allude to the immortality of the soul, the idea that the deceased lives on, joining the stars, the Olympian gods, or the Blessed.[61] This idea goes back to the classical period, but the concentration of so many related epigrams is unparalleled in any other city in this late

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[58] Jewish usage: e.g., Amos 7:13; Ps 92:5; Christian usage: *SEG* XXIX 1227 (holy place); XXXVI 1266 (quotation of Ps 92:5).

[59] Reynolds – Tannenbaum 1987, 136–137 no. 8; *SEG* XXXVII 851; cf. Chaniotis 2002a, 238 no. 24; Ameling 2004, 77–82, 199–214 no. 19: "es ist unsicher, ob es sich um einen jüdischen Text handelt".

[60] For the religious ambiguities in the later imperial period and in late antiquity, see, e.g., Mitchell 1998 and 1999 (cult of Theos Hypsistos and theosebeis); Di Segni 1994 (on the expression *heis Theos*); Marek 2000a (ambiguous references to god); Marek 2000b (pagan themes in a Christian inscription); *SEG* XXXIV 669 = XXXVI 629 (pagan themes in the epitaph of a cleric).

[61] *SEG* XLVIII 1327; Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 02/09/11 (epigram for the orator Eupeithios, late fourth century); Roueché 1989, no. 153 b; Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 02/09/28 (epigram for Claudia, fourth or fifth century); Roueché 1989, no. 154; Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 02/09/92 (fragmentary epigram for a girl); *Anth. Gr.* 7.690; Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 02/09/22 (epigram for the sophist Pytheas, ca. a.d. 500); Roueché 1989, no. 54; Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 02/09/06 (epitaph for the pagan philosopher Asklepiodotos, ca. 490–500); Roueché 1989, no. 157; Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 02/09/29 (epitaph for Euphemia, ca. 528–558). For these texts, cf. Trombley 1993–1994, 2:61–63; Chaniotis 2002b, 116–119.

period. Three of these epitaphs were written for persons that can be identified with late pagans, the sophists Eupeithios and Pytheas and the Neoplatonic philosopher Asklepiodotos. His epigram reads: "He did not die, nor did he see the stream of Acheron, but in Olympus Asclepiodotos is among the stars." These texts give the impression that the late pagans were trying to make clear that the Christians did not monopolize the idea of the immortality of the soul.

5. The Temple Conversion at Aphrodisias in a Context of Competition

The evidence presented is rather sporadic. A high concentration of sources can be found in the last quarter of the fifth century, which is also the period which the archaeological evidence suggests for the temple conversion. The symbolic value of the temple in this context of competition may be inferred from religious symbols which can still be seen engraved on the pavement of the Tetrapylon, the entrance to the *temenos*. An observant visitor (with good eyesight) may recognize four double axes, engraved next to a cross—the elaborate cross suggests a date in the fourth century at the earliest (see fig. 11). Admittedly, the double axe may have many symbolic connotations, but in an Aphrodisian context the most plausible interpretation is that of the *labrys*, the symbol of the Carian Zeus; Sulla is said to have dedicated a double axe to Aphrodite.[62] More double axes may be seen at other locations, e.g. on the wall of a pool next to the Hadrianic baths, engraved near a late antique acclamation (of the Nika type).[63] In the late fifth century, inscriptions found in a house north of Aphrodite's temple praise the goddess of Paphos;[64] these inscriptions seem to have intentionally been broken into small pieces by the Christians—more than 200 fragments survive.

All this evidence suggests that the temple had remained, until its conversion, a focal point of interest. The conversion of Aphrodite's temple should be seen in this atmosphere of competition. As we have seen, the name of Aphrodite appears in several of the testimonia of

[62] App. *civ*. 1,97. For representations of the double axe on coins of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, see Laumonier 1958, pl. 3.1–2 and 9.18.

[63] Chaniotis 2002b, 103–105.

[64] Roueché 1989, no. 47.

late antique polytheism; her temple must have been for the late pagans more than a ruined reminder of their past traditions. And it must have been for the Christians as hated as the images that they defaced,[65] as the faces of the philosophers which were destroyed, or as the name Aphrodisias which was erased from inscriptions (fig. 12).

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Fig. 1: Aphrodisias, South Agora Gate, north corridor. Engraved crosses.

Fig. 2: Aphrodisias. The temple-church.

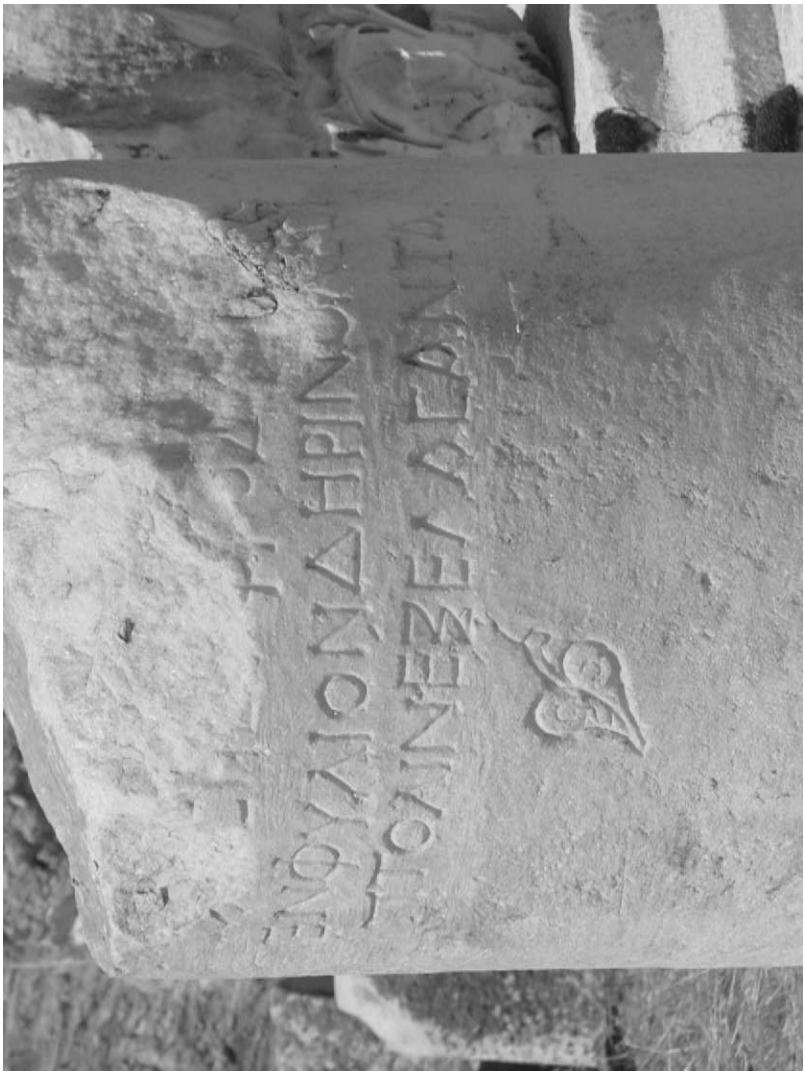

Fig. 3: Aphrodisias, Tetrastoon: Honorary epigram for a man who saved the city from civil strife.

Fig. 4: Aphrodisias: Pillar with two inscriptions concerning the Jewish community at Aphrodisias. The earlier inscription (front) dates to the fourth century, the later (left side) is later (early fifth century?).

Fig. 5: Aphrodisias: Inscription naming Jews and proselytes (early fifth century?).

Fig. 6: Inscription on a seat in the Bouleuterion naming the Jews (fifth/sixth century).

Fig. 7: Representation of menorah and shofar on a column of the Sebasteion (fourth/fifth century).

Fig. 8: Representation of menorah on a column (bottom) of the South Agora (fifth/sixth century).

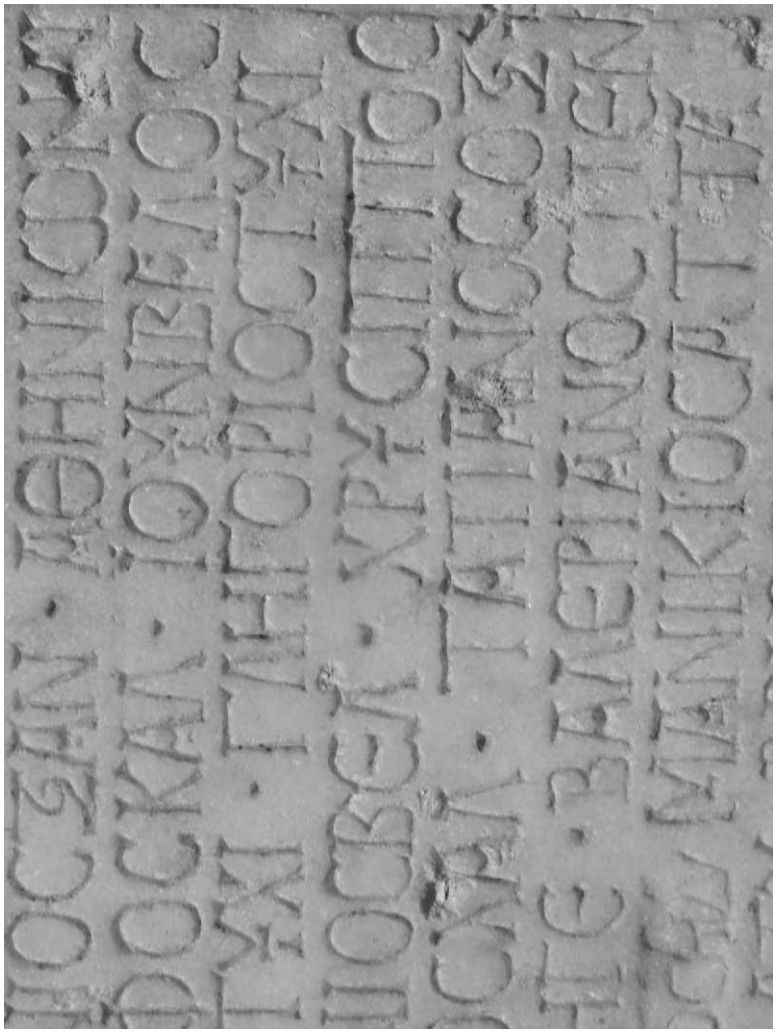

Fig. 9: List of theosebeis, including a man with the Christian name Glegorios (Gregorios) (fourth century).

Fig. 10: Erased representation of menorah and shofar on a column of the Sebasteion.

Fig. 11: Representation of double axes on the pavement of the Tetrapylon.

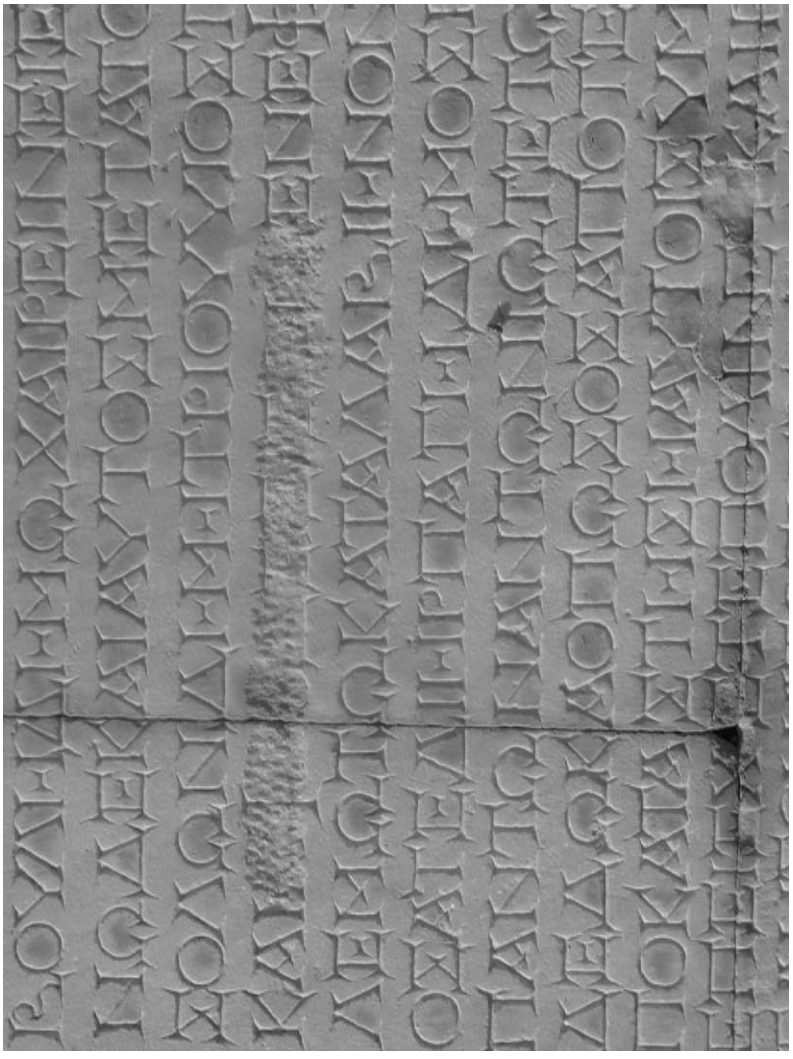

Fig. 12: Imperial letter on the parodos wall of the theater. The name of the Aphrodisieis has been erased.

CHAPTER TEN

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE CULTIC TOPOGRAPHY OF LATE ANTIQUE PALESTINE

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Many of those who research the history of Palestine during late antiquity[1] assume that the process whereby the local pagan[2] population underwent religious conversion had been completed by the middle of this period.[3] It has been argued that "in no place in Palestine can we recognize the survival of pagan communities later than the first half of the fifth century."[4] The process of conversion was expedited, so it is claimed, by the vast sums of money invested in building churches, coupled with the density of holy sites and the thousands of pilgrims who made the journey to those places.[5] All these factors jointly contributed to making Palestine unique compared to other provinces in the Roman empire.[6]

During the past few decades, various areas of the State of Israel underwent extensive archaeological research. The many surveys and

[1] The research on which this paper is based covers the territory of the State of Israel, Judea, Samaria, and the Golan Heights. The territorial boundaries do not necessarily parallel those of the province of Judaea during late antiquity. This geographic area was designated in order to include and exploit the fruits of research undertaken in the region over the past few years. For this geographic delineation, see Tsafrir – Di Segni – Green 1994, viii. The chronological definition of the research is equally problematic. While, in accordance with the historical reality in Palestine-Eretz Israel, it is common to divide the period I treat here into the late Roman (70–324 c.e.) and Byzantine (324–640 c.e.) periods, I use the term "late antiquity" to cover the entire period; see Groh 1988, 83.

[2] We will have to make do with the expressions "pagan" and "paganism" in this article. This term refers to the non-Jewish, non-Christian, or non-Samaritan population of Palestine. On the limits of this term, see Rousselle 1999; Bowersock 1997, 1–2.

[3] Avi-Yonah 1984, 220–221: "the majority of population now [in the period between the death of Julian and the Council of Chalcedon] became Christian." See also Tsafrir – Di Segni – Green 1994, 19.

[4] Tsafrir 1998, 199.

[5] Hunt 1982, 83–106.

[6] Tsafrir 1993, xi; Patrich 1995, 470.

excavations conducted in the urban and rural settlements have enabled a renewed discussion of many geographic, sociological, and religious issues related to the local population. One of the more interesting questions has to do with the changes among the pagan inhabitants who were the major religious group in the region during the early stages of the late antique period, but later lost their supremacy and were assimilated into the other religious groups of the country.[7]

The focal point of this paper will be the temples and other pagan ritual sites that dotted Palestine's urban and rural landscape. Many scholars have used these cultic sites as a useful tool for determining the fate of the local pagan community during late antiquity. Indeed, the following discussion will involve the effect of the Christianization process on the status and fate of these sites. By providing some historical and archaeological examples from different parts of Palestine, I will attempt to show that the process of transition from paganism to Christianity in both urban and rural settlements was far more complex and diverse than was previously believed. While it is true that the pagan cult centers in the central towns of Palestine did not survive beyond the fifth or perhaps the sixth century, it is important to remember that the majority of the country's population was concentrated in the rural realm.[8] There, it will be argued, the process of adopting Christianity was substantially longer and far more diverse than in the cities of Palestine.

The changes that the cultic topography in Palestine underwent during late antiquity are historically and symbolically important and may help us determine whether Palestine was unique in the process of embracing Christianity compared with other regions in the Roman empire. The answer to the question of whether the local temples were destroyed, abandoned, or continued to function during the later stages of late antiquity is significant for an understanding of the Christianization process. In the following pages I will try to answer some of the questions related to this process. Did changes in pagan cultic topography originate from outside, and were they institutional in nature? Or was it a gradual process, internal and non-institutional, coming from "below"? Was the temples' fate determined by force and oppression, or did the cult sites undergo a gradual process of abandonment at a pace deter-

[7] On the pagan population of Palestine prior to the fourth century, see Stemberger 2000, 18–19; Taylor 1993, 69–84.

[8] Broshi 1982, 442–455; Tsafrir 1996, 269–271.

mined by the villagers and the urban dwellers themselves? How was the physical presence of the temples and their remains perceived by the population of now Christianized Palestine? Were the locals inclined to use the remains of the temples and their valuable locations for building churches and for other uses?

1. Pagan Cult Centers during the Late Roman Period

If we look at the unique ethnic and religious picture in Palestine prior to the days of Emperor Constantine, it is apparent that, apart from the concentrations of Jewish and Samaritan settlements largely in the Galilee and Samaria, and a small Christian presence mainly in cities, the rest of the country was populated by gentile pagans.[9] There were no clear borders between the settlement areas of the various religious groups, and there was some overlap between the religious elements, as well as there being towns with mixed populations.[10]

The inhabitants of the country, including gentile pagans, established many cult centers, with temples and sacred places in the form of trees, hills, springs, and caves. Palestine's unique history and the fact that it was the land of the Bible brought in its wake the development of a vast network of holy sites that were scattered all over the country. Some of the holy sites visited by pagans may also have been revered by Jews and Samaritans and thus formed part of a local popular religion.[11] During this period, it may at times have been difficult to distinguish between pagan, Jewish, or Samaritan folk traditions,[12] as the following example illustrates.

Approximately 10 km east of the town of Caesarea is the spring of 'Ein-Tzur (see fig. 1). Archaeological excavations conducted at this

[9] See Kasher 1990, for the demographic picture up until 70 c.e. For later periods, see Stemberger 2000, 17–21; Taylor 1993, 48–85.

[10] See, for instance, the mixed population of Caesarea (Levine 1975, 57–134), or the pagan and Jewish communities of Scythopolis (Fox 1983, 147–156).

[11] See, for example, the site of Gilgal, east of Jericho, which is mentioned by Eus. *onomast.* (ed. Klostermann 1904, 64–66) as a pagan ritual site. Jewish sources (Tosefhta Sotah 8:6–8, 204–206 [ed. Lieberman 1973]) mention Jews visiting the place during the same period. Eusebius, who calls the people living near the site "the people of the district," may confirm the existence of a sort of local religion in the region. Later, the twelve stones brought by the people of Israel from the Jordan (Josh 4:1–24) were integrated into a commemorative church that was erected on the site, see Avi-Yonah 1954, 36–37, pl. 1.

[12] Wilkinson 1990, 41–53.

natural source revealed an outstanding discovery: a hidden reserve of hundreds of coins, the earliest of them from the early fourth century and most of them with very low values, was found at the mouth of the spring.[13] This find permits linking the spring to the description by the anonymous pilgrim from Bordeaux who visited Palestine in the year 333. This Christian traveler, one of the first pilgrims to frequent Palestine in the aftermath of Emperor Constantine's religious revolution, usually visited biblical sites. However, he also recalls visiting a wondrous spring in whose waters a woman submerges, in an artificial dammed pool at the spring's mouth, in order to have a child.[14] Apparently, women used to offer coins for this purpose, and these votive offerings were found by the hundreds. Naturally, the question arises whether the tradition mentioned in the pilgrim's tale is Christian, as was his faith, or whether the region's Jews, Samaritans, or pagans from the nearby settlement of Shuni visited the spring and dipped into its waters, and whether it was through them that the pilgrim learned about the existence of the place. According to the numismatic evidence, visitation and religious practice at that location occurred throughout the late antique period, peaking in the sixth century.[15] 'Ein-Tzur was not a monumental religious site, but it suggests that there may have been dozens, or even hundreds, of such small local religious cult sites with earlier roots that were shared by all the inhabitants of Palestine, regardless of ethnic or religious affiliation. These local cult sites, mainly in the countryside, stood alongside the more established and grandiose urban temples found in most of Palestine's cities.

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[13] Hirschfeld 1998, 109–116; Hirschfeld 2000, 336–337, 720–722. Hirschfeld suggests that the use of this spring as a religious site started already in the course of the second or the third century when the theater in the nearby settlement of Shuni was built.

[14] *Itinerarium burdigalense* 585–586 (ed. Geyer – Kuntz 1965, 13). The pilgrim also mentions Mt. Syna, apparently equivalent to Shuni, where excavations have uncovered a small Roman theater erected during the final decades of the second century c.e. or at the beginning of the third century; see Shenhav 1990, 58–62. This theater served as the focal point for the local Maioumas festivities. A statue of Asclepius, the god of medicine, points to the existence of an Asklepeion there. The archaeological finds show that use of the Kefer Shuni spa continued after the fourth century, and that only during the sixth century, apparently as part of a deliberate policy, did the site become derelict and turned into an industrial area.

[15] Barkay 2000, 377–419: 575 coins from the sixth century compared to 135 coins from the fifth century. In the seventh century there was a steep decline in visits, as only 10 coins were found. The custom of throwing coins into a water source as an offering is well known in antiquity and well documented in historical sources and archaeological finds. See the example of Mamre, cited below.

2. Survival of Pagan Ritual Sites during Late Antiquity

A brief review of the deployment of pagan temples during the early stages of the late antique period would indicate that most regions and cities of Palestine, large or small, included pagan temples.[16] As it is impossible to cover all the specific cases, we shall make do with the following examples that illustrate the diverse social, economic, and administrative mechanisms that led to the triumph of Christianity over paganism during late antiquity.

2.1 *Aelia Capitolina and Caesarea Maritima (see fig. 2)*

In his *Vita Constantini*, Eusebius, a native of Caesarea, describes the violent and sudden dismantling of the central pagan temple of Aelia Capitolina in the year 325/6.[17] He reported on the excavation of the temple's foundations and their destruction; the subsequent discovery of the Holy Sepulchre; and the construction of a Christian basilica on the same site. The impure and evil remains of the pagan shrine of the "demon Aphrodite," in Eusebius's words, were removed in order to cleanse the area and purify the site for the building of the Holy Sepulchure basilica.[18] This was done at the initiative of Emperor Constantine, who wished to turn Palestine into a Christian holy land.[19] Vast building activity was conducted during his days at three additional holy sites, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the Eleona on the Mount of Olives, and the Oak of Mamre.[20] Probably only the Eleona was uncontaminated by pagan shrines. All four of the sites became important pilgrimage destinations during the fourth century.[21]

While Eusebius describes events in Jerusalem and the erection of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre there, he fails to comment on a parallel process of Christianization in his own native town, Caesarea, the capital and main port city of the region.[22] The comparison between

[16] On Palestine's cities, see Schwartz 1997, 149–187; Dan 1984. On Pagan Temples in Palestine, see: Belayche, 2001.

[17] Eus. *v. Const.* 3.25–40. On the building of the Holy Sepulchre, see Patrich 1993, 101–117; Gibson – Taylor 1994, 74–85.

[18] On Aelia Capitolina during the third and fourth centuries, see Bar 1998.

[19] Wilken 1992, 85–100.

[20] Armstrong 1969, 90–102.

[21] Hunt 1982, 96–106.

[22] On the history of Caesarea, see Levine 1975; Holum 1988. See Eusebius's mention of pagan temples and altars in Caesarea during the persecutions of the early fourth century: Eus. *mart. Pal.* passim (ed. Schwartz 1908).

these two principal Christian sites seems significant and indicates the complexity of the Christianization process in Palestine during late antiquity.[23] While in Jerusalem the process of Christian sanctification was rapid and by the end of the fourth century there were almost no signs of the former pagan practices,[24] in Caesarea the process was different and far more prolonged.[25]

Close to the ancient harbor of Caesarea and overlooking it, excavators in the 1980s uncovered the massive foundations of the temple to Roma and Augustus built by Herod the Great during the last decade of the first century B.C.E.[26] During the temple excavations, the remains of an early Christian church, octagonal in plan, were uncovered.[27] This church, embellished with costly marble pavements and probably surmounted by a segmented dome, was standing exactly on the spot of the former pagan temple. The excavators report on the chronological difference between the erection of the church in Jerusalem in the days of Constantine and the building of the above-mentioned church about 500 C.E. or even somewhat later.[28]

The dating of the church to the sixth century raises the question of how the most imperial city in Palestine, the city most clearly Roman in character, could preserve a pagan temple long after cities like Jerusalem and Gaza had witnessed the destruction of pagan cult centers and the building of churches in their places.[29] Seeking to solve this question, the archaeologists have searched for the remains of an interim church on the temple platform, which they presumed might have been built over

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[23] Holum 1999, 12–34.

[24] The baths of Bethsaide (Probatica), mentioned by the pilgrim from Bordeaux in 333, may serve as an example. Before Constantine's days, the pools were used as a pagan healing sanctuary: *Itinerarium burdigalense* 589 (ed. Geyer – Kuntz 1965, 5). Later fourth-century pilgrim accounts mention the existence of many Christian cult sites in Jerusalem, but include hardly any information on the survival of former pagan rituals.

[25] On the various religious buildings in Caesarea, see Patrich 2001, 77–201. Together with the temple-platform church, literary sources from the fourth to seventh centuries recall the existence of ten Christian churches and martyria: Holum 1989, 99–100 nn. 31–32.

[26] Ios. *bell. Iud.* 1.414 (*ant.* 15.339) describes the temple as having been built directly opposite the entrance to the harbor upon a high platform remarkable for its beauty and its great size; see Holum 1988, 72–105; Kahn 1996. Excavators revealed many fragments of the temple, enabling them to reconstruct it.

[27] Holum 1999, 12–34.

[28] Holum 1999, 12–34.

[29] On the destruction of the Marneion in Gaza, see Geiger 1998, 8–10.

the course of the fourth century and later replaced by the octagonal church, but they had no success in finding such a structure. It was only during the last few seasons of excavation that the archaeologists were able to identify a structure, referred to as the "intermediate building," on the temple platform.[30] This building, erected around 420 C.E., occupied much of the space of the former temple, especially its northern half, but differed from it in orientation, and extended beyond it; moreover, it shows no signs of being a cultic site. Even if subsequent excavations in the same location should indicate that the structure did indeed serve as a church, the process demonstrated in Caesarea is itself interesting. The remains of the city's primary temple, standing in the most prominent and symbolic location within its boundaries, survived for dozens of years beyond the time of the construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Only at the beginning of the sixth century did the city notables decide to replace the remains of the temple with the monumental octagonal church, which, by all indications, was very imposing and extravagant, dominating the cityscape and built—at least in part—with stones from the deserted pagan temple.

2.2 *Scythopolis (see fig. 3)*

Scythopolis, in northern Palestine, was founded as a Hellenistic town in the first half of the third century B.C.E., but gained its fame mainly during late antiquity.[31] Its main period of construction was between the second and fourth centuries. It was a time of transition and change, with demographic growth and larger, more numerous settlements throughout the country.[32] This phenomenon had a great impact on the shape of Scythopolis.[33]

One of the major events that formed the city's life and outline during late antiquity was the earthquake of 363 C.E.,[34] as excavations have shown that the city was severely damaged by this catastrophe. Excavations have revealed that the reconstruction of the city and its monuments after this upheaval was inferior to the original second-century

[30] Preliminary report by K. Holum, who stresses that nothing about this structure suggests monumental architecture or ecclesiastical function.

[31] For a general description of Scythopolis, see Fox 1983.

[32] Bar 2002, 43–54.

[33] See Tsafrir – Foerster 1997 for a detailed description of the latest excavations of the site.

[34] On this earthquake, see Russell 1980.

construction, but at the same time the classical character of the restoration proves that this tradition was still alive in the late fourth century.[35]

The fate of individual monuments during this time of religious transition, whether rebuilt and restored or left in ruins, is significant.[36] The act of restoration and the extent of investment in each of the public buildings reflect the order of priorities set by the local inhabitants. Most important is the fate of the several pagan cult sites that have been discovered in the center of the city, reflecting its grandiose pagan past. Some of these temples were excavated in recent years, and the researchers were able to point to the process of their destruction or abandonment during the late antique period.[37] One particularly interesting case is that of a temple with the round *cella* built at the foot of the acropolis in the city center. The excavators assume that the temple was destroyed and flattened to floor level no later than the beginning of the fifth century.[38] On the other hand, the *pronaos* of the temple remained intact throughout late antiquity. Two of its columns were still erect and beautified the city until they collapsed during the major earthquake of January 749.[39]

Excavations in Scythopolis show that most of the temple sites were in use in the last centuries of late antiquity as well, when the locals took advantage of their symbolic and valuable locations. This seems to be true in the case of the temple of Zeus Akraios on the acropolis of the city, which dominated the city's skyline for generations. Excavators found that a round church was located above the eastern part of the temple only during the sixth century.[40] The construction of that church, on top of the remains of the temple and near the civic center of Scythopolis, appears to have been somewhat unusual. All the city's churches were built on the edges of the town and even outside it,[41]

[35] Tsafrir – Foerster 1997.
[36] Tsafrir – Foerster 1997.
[37] Tsafrir – Foerster 1997.
[38] Tsafrir 1998, 215–218; Di Segni – Foerster – Tsafrir 1999, 59–75. The dating of the temple's destruction is based on renovations to the nearby *nymphaeum*. The aqueduct that brought water to this newly built installation passed through the area of the temple in a way, the excavators claim, that permits no doubt that the temple was already in ruins at that time.
[39] Tsafrir – Foerster 1992, 231–235.
[40] FitzGerald 1931, 18–30; Rowe 1930, 43–45.
[41] On the location of rural community churches in relation to other village buildings in Palestine during late antiquity, see Bar 2003.

while the civic center itself had remained devoid of any Christian construction.[42] This raises the question of whether this was the result of the city authorities' desire to preserve the town center's secular character, or whether it indicates the weakness of Christianity until a late stage of the period.

2.3 *Caesarea Philippi (see fig. 4)*

The city of Caesarea Philippi, also known as Paneas, is situated at the foot of Mt. Hermon in northern Palestine.[43] In close proximity to the city was the impressive natural cave extending out over the Jordan's springs, dedicated to Pan. This cave became a well established cult site as early as the third century B.C.E. Later, probably in 19 B.C.E., Herod the Great erected nearby a magnificent white-marble temple to Augustus.[44]

Excavations at the site show that during the early part of the late antique period, the local cult center had expanded as more buildings were annexed to it at the expense of the old forest of oak sacred to Pan.[45] Apparently, throughout the fourth century the sanctuary served as a center of local patronage with more people visiting the cult place than ever before. The site reached its height during this century and continued to prosper until the fifth, when it was abandoned.[46] Excavations there revealed no trace of destruction; rather, the site appears to have lain desolate and unattended for a significant period of time. The temple was probably deserted around the middle of the fifth century, or perhaps ever later. The fact that the cult site was not deliberately destroyed, but was deserted, is confirmed by the preservation of cult inscriptions carved on the cliff alongside the sacred cave. The inscriptions, which mention Pan, Echo, and Galerius, may be seen as a pagan propaganda device, but they were left untouched by the citizens of the now Christianized Caesarea Philippi.

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[42] Mazor – Bar-Nathan 1994, 136–137.
[43] Tzafiris 1992, 190–201.
[44] Ios. *bell. Iud.* 1.404. On Herod's temple, see Tzafiris 1998, 2–17. But see also a recent proposal to identify and locate this temple in Omrit, next to Paneas: Overman – Olive – Nelson 2003, 40–49, 67–68.
[45] Tzafiris 1998, 2–17.
[46] Berlin 1999, 27–45.

2.4 *Mamre (see fig. 5)*

The fate of Mamre, near the town of Hebron, leads us to a different aspect of pagan practice in Palestine, namely the annual fairs and celebrations in the rural areas where the biblical tradition was apparently still very much alive during late antiquity. According to the Bible, Abraham lived at Mamre, built an altar there, and received angelic visitors under a certain tree (Gen 18:1–15). Twentieth-century excavations on the site revealed a vast *temenos* that was built sometime in the early Roman period, probably by Herod the Great, and which enclosed the well of Abraham, the tree, and the altar.[47]

Numerous late antique sources confirm that this holy place continued to be frequented during late antiquity. The sources mention the sacred tree with an altar nearby where pilgrims brought their offerings during fairs.[48] The Church historian Sozomen, a native of Bethelia, near Gaza, hints at the transformation of this local fair into an annual international and commercial festival. It appears that Jews, Christians, Arabs, and other pagans frequented the place even during the later parts of late antiquity. The main focus of all these groups was the veneration of Abraham.[49]

In his *Vita Constantini*, Eusebius reports the context of Constantine's initiative in building a basilica in Mamre:[50] his mother-in-law, Eutropia, had visited the site between 324 and 326. Displeased with the pagan practices she encountered there, she complained to the emperor. Constantine, presumably aware of the potential Christian importance of the place, consequently ordered the burning of the pagan images, the

[47] Mader 1957.

[48] See, for example, the early third-century testimony of Sextus Julius Africanus, a native of Palestine (Afric. *chron.* fr. 18 [ed. Routh 1846, 154]), who mentions a terebinth and an altar where the inhabitants of the area brought offerings during fairs in honor of the patriarchs. Eusebius (*onomast.* 76–77) also mentions pagan practice in the place. Later, the same author (Eus. *dem.* 5.9.8 [20]) applies a Christian theological dimension to the holy site by connecting it to the appearance of the three angels, one of them being Christ, in front of Abraham. Most of the ancient sources stress the local, regional character of the place and the orientation toward Abraham and the angels by the pagan worshipers. See also the Jewish Rabbinic sources which refer to this place as one of the three most important fair sites in Palestine (e.g., Palestinian [Jerusalem] Talmud, Avoda Zara 39d). On the subject of fairs and Jewish participation in them, see Safrai 1984, 139–158.

[49] Soz. *h. e.* 2.4.

[50] Eus. *v. Const.* 3.51–53. The pilgrim from Bordeaux describes the erection of the church in 333: *Itinerarium burdigalense* 599.3–6 (ed. Geyer – Kuntz 1965, 20).

demolition of the altar, the proscription of pagan practices, and the building of a basilica at the site. The fragments of statues found under the Constantinian foundation corroborate the execution of the order to demolish the images.[51] At the same time, the numerous votive lamps from the fourth and fifth centuries, as well as animal bones, coins,[52] jewelry, and decorative objects that were found near and inside the sacred well testify to the existence of a unique mix of beliefs in Mamre during late antiquity.[53] The persistence of the pagan heritage many decades after the edict of Constantine, alongside the survival of the biblical tradition and memory, testifies to the strength of the regional cultic traditions at the site.[54]

3. Survival of Paganism in the Rural Areas of Palestine

One of the more fascinating issues related to the survival of pagan practice in late antique Palestine involves the rural areas. The question is whether the villages in Palestine, like the towns, also experienced a rapid adoption of the Christian faith, and whether the notion that pagan practice in those areas had already been eradicated by the end of the fourth century is indeed true.

The swift conversion of the rural pagan population of Palestine seems to be confirmed by an array of contemporary sources. Christian sources suggest that there were already bishops in many of the rural areas by the middle of the fifth century.[55] Testimony about the zealous religious activity conducted by monks and priests during the first half of the fifth century in those areas may indicate that most of the peasants underwent a process of forced conversion.[56] The influx and settlement of monks and priests throughout some of the rural areas

[51] Mader 1957, 135–136.

[52] The numismatic evidence indicates a rather slow development during the first and second centuries, while there is a substantial growth in the number of coins from the second half of the third century. Mader 1957, 166–182 found that only after the reign of Constantine do coins from cities outside Palestine begin to appear at the site.

[53] See, for example, Frazer 1979, 137–145, on a fifth- or early sixth-century mould, possibly originating in Mamre, which unites on one side a hieratic Christian illustration of the three angels under the tree and on the other side a cultic image of a pagan goddess, probably Aphrodite, to whom the Virgin Mary may have been assimilated.

[54] Kofsky 1998, 19–30.

[55] See the list of episcopal sees of Palestine, according to attendance at councils, in Bagatti 1971, 92–95.

[56] Rubin 1983, 107–108; Bowersock 1997, 4.

of Palestine may lead to the conclusion that this constituted a part of a broader phenomenon, in which Christian immigration to Palestine had already enhanced the Christian majority's hold over the land by the fourth century.[57] The successful attempts of many members of the clergy to convert the members of the pagan nomadic tribes on the fringes of Palestine may provide an indication of the degree of success the process had encountered in other parts of Palestine as well.[58]

Nevertheless, one should be wary of drawing sweeping conclusions about the dominance and speed with which the Christian faith was accepted in the pagan countryside merely on the basis of this evidence. The nomadic tribes that were scattered on the outer fringes of Palestine converted rather easily, but in the rural sectors, where the population assimilated sociological, technological, and religious innovations at a far slower pace, the ruling religion penetrated far more gradually. Vast areas of rural Palestine, including the Galilee, the Golan, and Samaria, had an absolute Jewish or Samaritan majority even much later.[59] Christianity's influence in these regions was therefore minor, and came at a much later stage than in the pagan settlement areas.[60]

The latest findings indicate a considerable gap between the relatively intense force and vigor with which Christianity penetrated the towns in Palestine and the slower evolutionary process that took place in the villages.[61] The provincial towns were regarded as veritable battlegrounds with paganism, which explains why so much effort was invested not only in urban secular building but also in churches.[62] The countryside was of less interest to the Christian establishment, as the following example attests.

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[57] The biographies of the Desert Fathers by Cyril of Scythopolis indicate that most of them were natives of Asia Minor and Greece, with only a handful of them natives of Palestine. See Chitty 1966, 82–100, and Hirschfeld 1992, 239–249 (for a history of the major figures of Judean desert monasticism).

[58] Binns 1994, 111–115; Rubin 1983, 103–106; Rubin 1988, 25–49; Hirschfeld 1993, 343.

[59] See, for example, the Jewish objection to the establishment of churches in Lower Galilee as reflected in the story of Joseph of Tiberias: Goranson 1999, 335–343.

[60] See, for instance, the conclusions of Aviam 1999, 295–299, who found a distinctive borderline between Jewish and Christian communities in the Upper Galilee. East of this line, no churches were identified, but thirty or more synagogues were discovered. On Jewish-Christians relations in this area, see Stemberger 1998, 131–146.

[61] Bar 2003.

[62] Di Segni 1999, 149–178.

Mt. Hermon is the southernmost tip of the ante-Lebanon mountain ridge. It may serve as an example of a remote rural area of Palestine where pagan practices survived the Christian revolution (see fig. 6). The mountain with its impressive snowy summit was considered sacred, the home of numerous pagan gods.[63] A survey conducted on the slopes of the mountain revealed no churches, but over twenty Hellenistic and Roman temples and cult sites,[64] such as the site at Mount Senaim that had served as a ritual center for the local population for over six hundred years.[65] The archaeological and numismatic findings indicate that pagan practices at the site and in its vicinity did not end with the rise of Christianity but continued throughout late antiquity. Perhaps it was because of the difficult access to the settlement on the slopes of Mt. Hermon, as well as because of the nature of the local population, that paganism prevailed in that region even after the Christian Church had gained power in other parts of the land.

It seems that the process around Mt. Hermon was not unique, but represents one important example within a broader phenomenon that characterized the rural areas of Palestine. Christianity penetrated these rural areas later and by means of a far less established process than it did in the cities of Palestine. In many parts of the countryside the pagan cult continued, whether in isolation from Christianity or alongside it.

4. Summary

Far-reaching changes took place in the religious make-up of the population of Palestine during late antiquity. The most dramatic shift occurred among the large group of pagans who in the course of that period converted to Christianity. Previous research has supposed that the rate at which Christianity penetrated Palestine and the speed of conversion of its population were far quicker than in other regions of the Roman Empire. The argument in favor of this supposition was that the end of paganism occurred mostly during the fourth century, and that already in the middle of the fifth century no pagans remained within the boundaries of Palestine.

[63] Eus. *onomast.* 20.9–14.
[64] Dar 1993.
[65] Dar – Mintzker 1993.

I have found no evidence that would support the contention that the conversion rate in Palestine was higher than in other parts of the Roman Empire by virtue of proximity to holy sites. The claim that church building at the holy sites contributed to the expansion of Christianity in the Holy Land is indeed true, but this cannot be seen as a major factor in the social process of deserting paganism in favor of Christianity. The swift Christianization process in Jerusalem—the destruction of the pagan temple and the building of the Church of the Holy Sepulchure—should be seen as an exceptional incident, not characteristic of the process in other parts of the country. The fourth and fifth centuries were indeed the time when churches were constructed at holy sites, but at the same time pagan practices still flourished in at least some of the temples of cult centers in Palestine. Outlawed but deeply-rooted, polytheism stood its ground in Palestine even during the late stages of the late antique period.

In his fascinating discussion of polytheism and monotheism in the region, Glen Bowersock argued that the miracle of the age was the rarity of any major battle of religions during the late antique period.[66] For four and a half centuries, the entire area remained largely untouched by armed conflicts of any serious kind. Contrary to other regions in the Roman world, where the need to symbolize Christianity's victory over polytheism was sometimes manifested in large-scale destruction of temples, in Palestine we find only few such cases. The destruction of the pagan temple in Gaza and the demolition of the Samaritan cult site on Mt. Gerizim[67] should be seen as exceptional cases caused by unique religious and political circumstances. Contrary to other regions in the Roman empire, Christianity in Palestine progressed more by means of building churches at holy sites which quickly developed into pilgrimage destinations. In most cases, the temples were left untouched, vulnerable to natural disasters and the passing of time, and their future was determined by the local authorities—mainly by the urban and rural communities. In some rare cases, shrines were reoccupied by churches that were built on the same location, but more common were the cases in which the locations of the former temples, and their materials as well, were used for profane projects. It appears that locals showed little interest in the former pagan cult sites, and they were not threatened

[66] Bowersock 1997.
[67] Magen 1990, 333–334.

by the remains of temples standing in the midst of their settlements. In many cases, such as Caesarea, generations passed before some use was made of the pagan sites and building materials. Temples, at different stages of collapse, still dominated city skylines and were part of local topography, identity, and consciousness even during the later parts of late antiquity.

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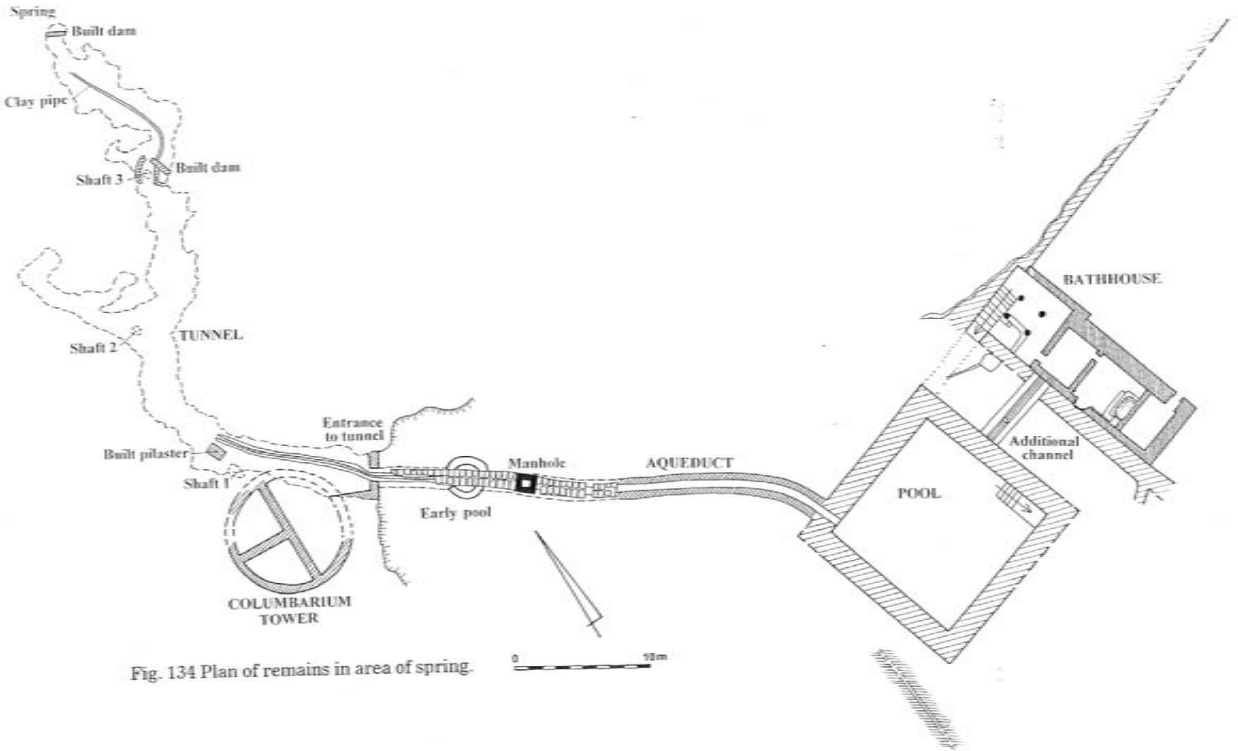


Fig. 1a: 'Ein Tzur, plan of remains in area of spring. Hirschfeld, Y., *Ramat Hanadiv Excavations: Final Report of the 1984–1998 Seasons*, Jerusalem 2000, p. 294 fig. 134: Plan of remains in area of spring.

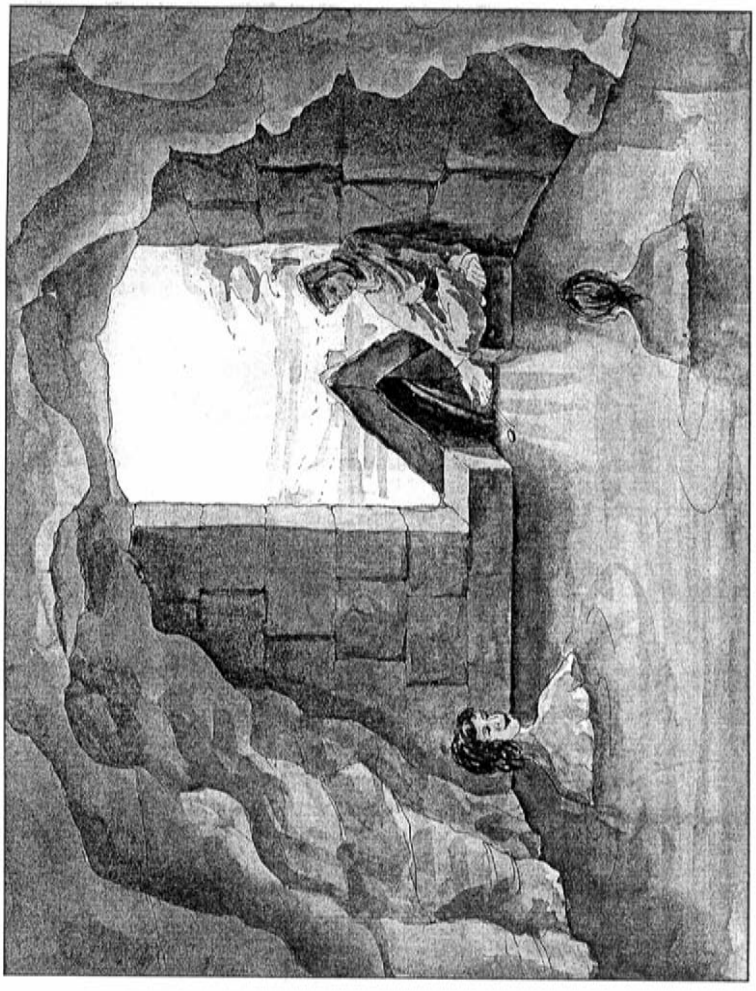


Fig. 1b: 'Ein Tzur pool during the Byzantine period: a reconstruction. Hirschfeld, Y., *Ramat Hanadiv Excavations: Final Report of the 1984–1998 Seasons*, Jerusalem 2000, p. 337 fig. 246: proposed reconstruction of pool's appearance in Byzantine period.

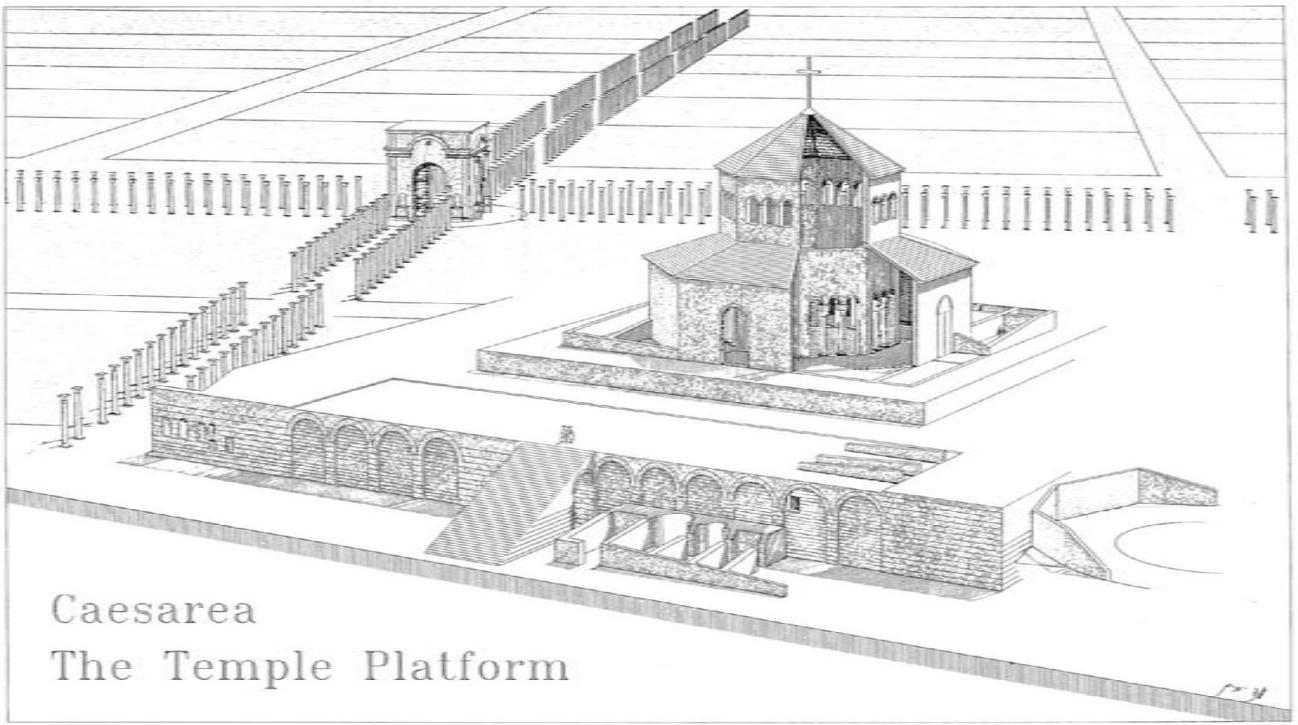
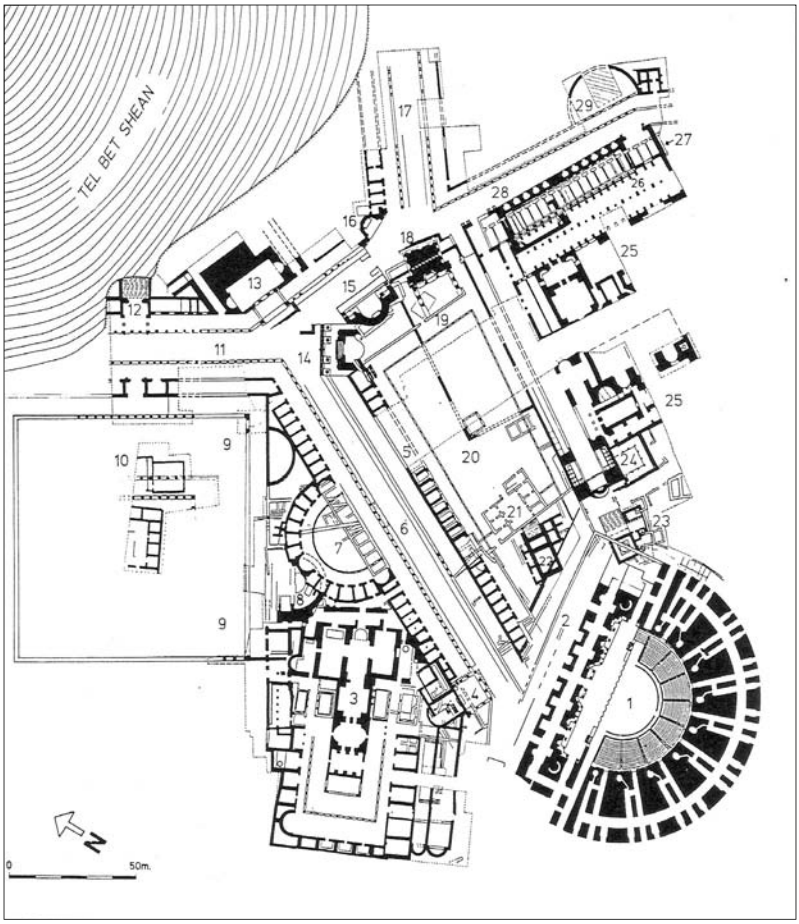


Fig. 2: Caesarea Maritima: the temple platform in late antiquity. Holum, K.G. The Temple Platform: Progress Report on the Excavations, in: K.G. Holum – A. Raban – J. Patrich (eds.), *Caesarea Papers 2* (Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. Ser. 35), Portsmouth, RI 1999, p. 28, fig. 13: the temple platform in Late Antiquity.



1. Theater
2. Portico in front of the theater
3. Western bathhouse
4. Propylon in Palladius Street
5. Shops of the Roman period
6. Palladius Street
7. *Sigma*
8. Odeon
9. Colonnades and reconstructed area of the Roman temenos(?)
10. Dismantled Roman colonnades. with a Byzantine public building above them
11. Northern Street
12. Propylon and stairway to the tell
13. Propylon between the temple esplanade and the tell
14. Temple with the round cella
15. Nymphaeum
16. Monument of Antonius
17. Valley Street
18. Central Monument
19. Roman basilica, with porticoes of the Byzantine agora above it
20. Byzantine agora
21. Umayyad ceramic workshop
22. Roman temple
23. Roman cult structures
24. Public latrine
25. Eastern bathhouse
26. Roman portico, later SilvanusH all
27. Roman decorative pool, with Umayyad shops above it
28. Silvanus Street
29. Semicircular plaza

Fig. 3: Scythopolis-Beth Shean, map of the central area, including (nº 14) the round cella temple. Tsaffir, Y. – Foerster, G. (eds.), *Urbanism at Scythopolis-Bet Shean in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Dumbarton Oaks Papers 15), Washington/D.C. 1997, fig. D: map of the city.

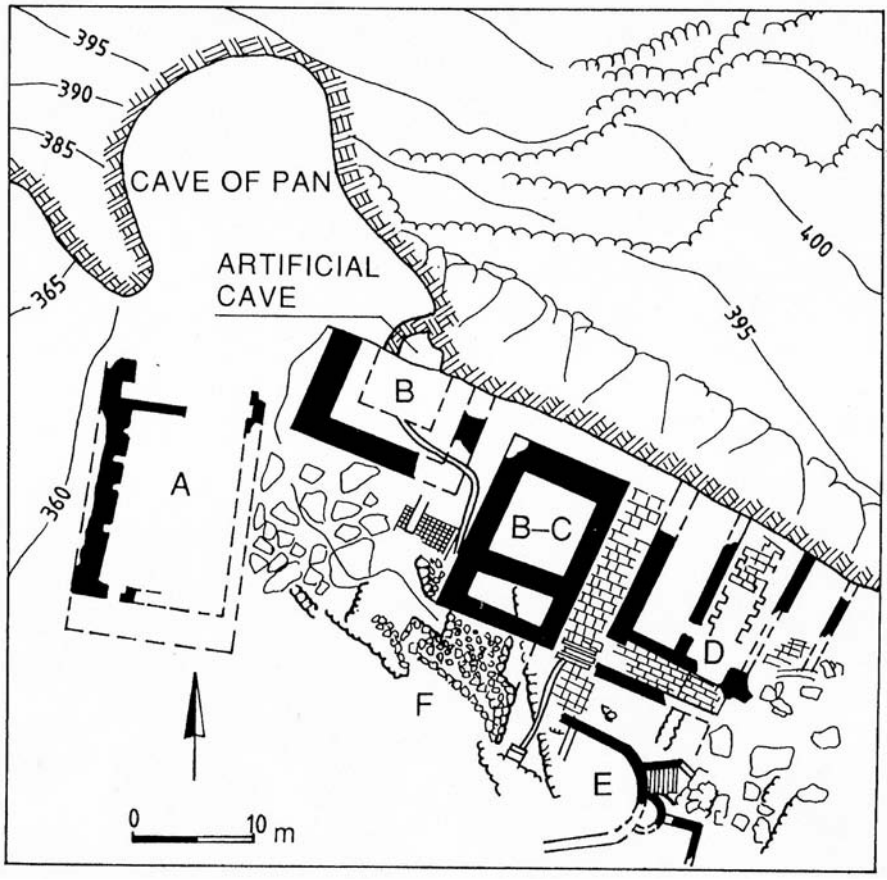


Fig. 4: Caesarea Philippi (Paenias), cave and temple of Pan. Zvi Ma'oz, Banias, Temple of Pan—1993, *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 15 (1996), p. 1, fig. 1: Banias, Temple of Pan, plan.

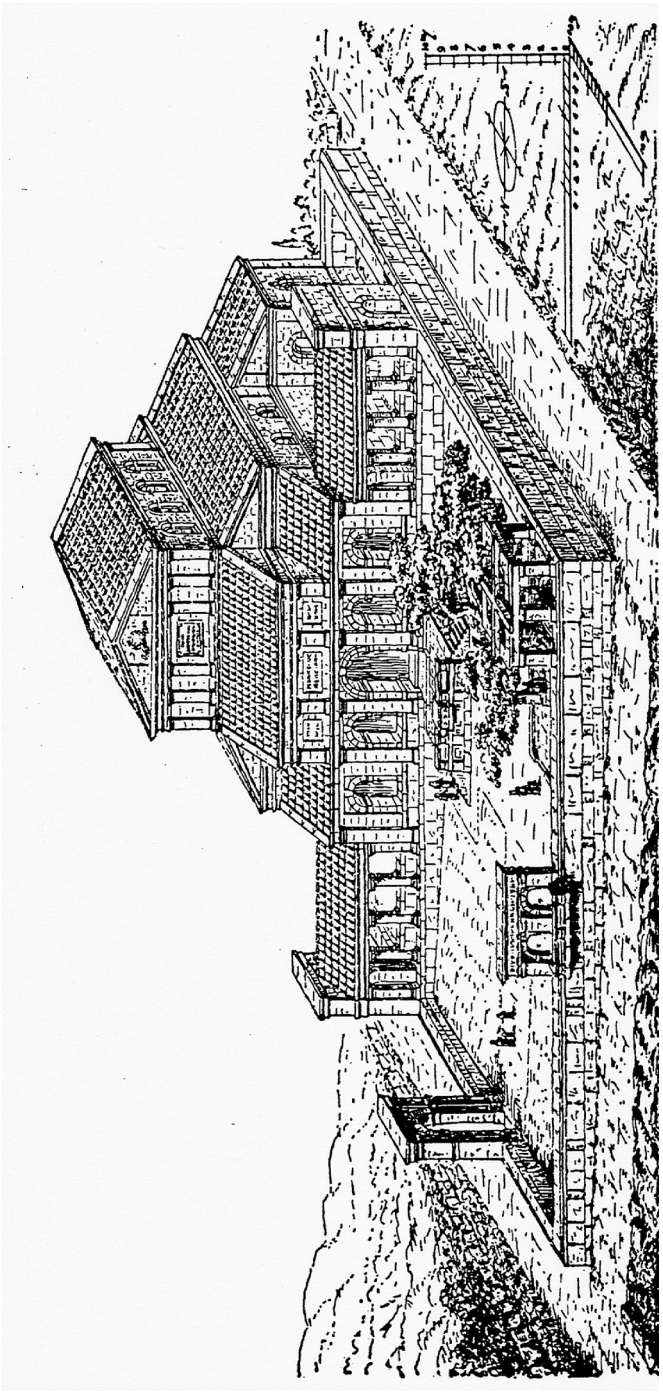


Fig. 5: Mamre, Constantine's Basilica: a reconstruction. Mader, E., *Mambre. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im Heiligen Bezirk, Ramat el-Halil in Südpalästina 1926–1928*, München 1957, fig. 38.

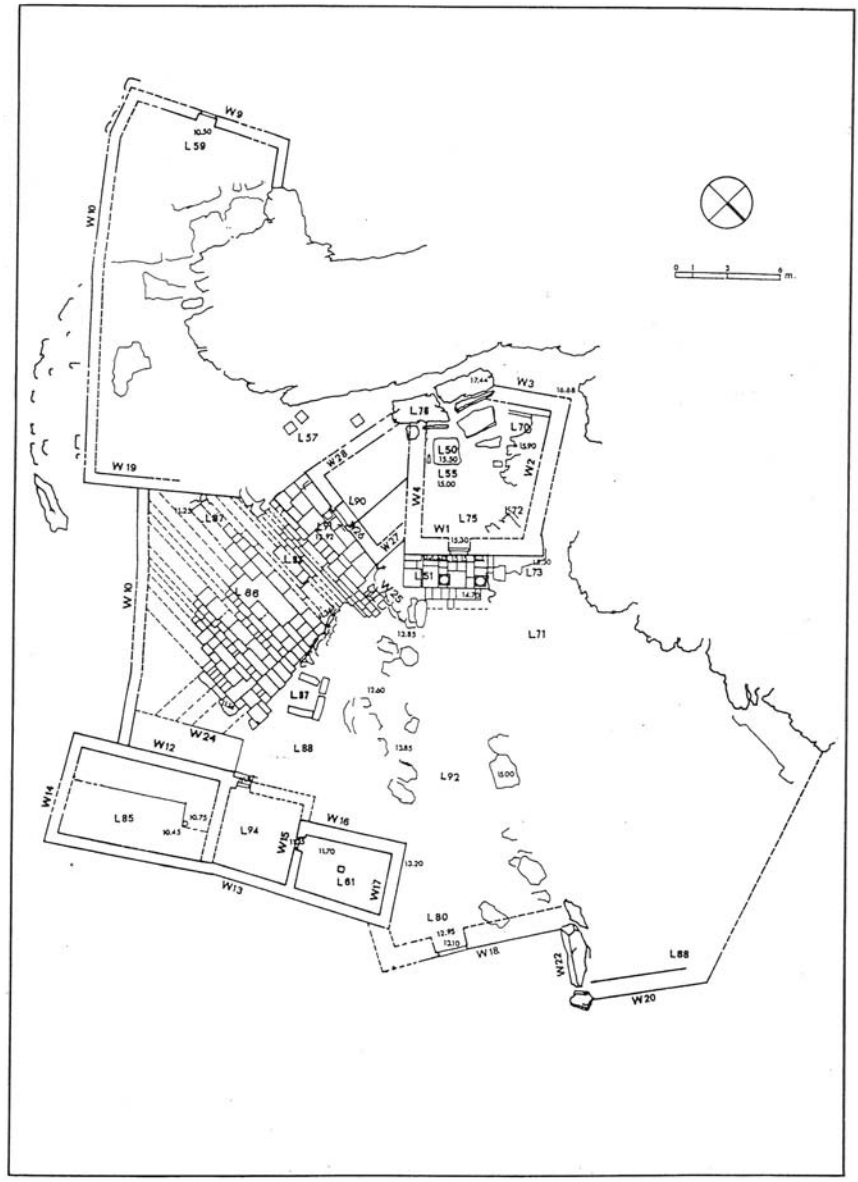


Fig. 6: Har Senaim, Hermon, the lower cult enclosure. Dar, S., *Settlement and Cult Sites on Mount Hermon, Israel* (BAR S589), London 1993, p. 43, map of the Senaim temple.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

MODALITÄTEN DER ZERSTÖRUNG UND CHRISTIANISIERUNG PHARAONISCHER TEMPELANLAGEN

Peter Grossmann
Athen – Kairo

Das entscheidende Jahr, in dem Theodosius I. (379–395) mit dem Verbot der Durchführung von Opferhandlungen in den Tempeln Ernst machte, war das Jahr 381. In einem Edikt vom 21. Dezember dieses Jahres[1] werden jegliche Opferhandlungen aufs schärfste verboten und unter Strafe gestellt. Allein, ein Erfolg blieb zunächst aus. In unregelmäßigen Abständen mußten weitere, immer schärfere Gesetze folgen. Der angestrebten Auflösung der Tempelkulte diente auch das am 30. November des folgenden Jahres erlassene Edikt, daß die Tempel permanent zu öffnen und dem Volke zur Besichtigung zugänglich zu machen seien.[2] Im Jahr 384 wurde nach Zosimos[3] der *praefectus praetorio* Cynegius nach Alexandreia entsandt, um die Opferverbote und die Außerfunktionssetzung der Tempel durchzusetzen. Er soll in Überschreitung seiner Kompetenzen die ersten Tempelzerstörungen eingeleitet haben.[4] Wie das im einzelnen vor sich ging, beschreibt anschaulich der heidnische Rhetor Libanios in einer vermutlich im Jahre 391[5] vor dem Kaiser gehaltenen Rede:

> Die Schwarzröcke, die da mehr essen als die Elefanten, stürzen mit Stangen, Steinen und Eisen oder auch ohne dies zu den Tempeln. Dann werden die Dächer eingerissen, die Mauern umgestürzt, die Bilder herabgerissen, die Altäre zerstört, während die Priester sich still verhalten müssen oder (wenn sie sich zur Wehr setzen) den Tod erleiden.

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[1] *Cod. Theod.* 16,10,7.
[2] *Cod. Theod.* 16,10,8.
[3] Zos. *hist.* 4,37,3.
[4] Lib. *or.* 30,44–46. Weiteres zu Cynegius bietet Schwartz 1966, 104, Anm. 37.
[5] Lib. *or.* 30,8. Die Datierung ist umstritten, nach Schwartz 1966, 103 „pas…plus bas que l'été 390"; zu anderen Datierungen s. Schwartz 1966, Anm. 36.

Libanios hatte vor allem die Verhältnisse in Syrien im Auge. Doch in Ägypten war es nicht viel anders. Hier kam es zur selben Zeit zu einigen Tempelzerstörungen, die sogar reichsweites Aufsehen erregten. Allen voran steht die Entweihung des Sarapeions von Alexandreia im Jahr 392,[6] die von keinem Historiker der Zeit zu erwähnen versäumt wird.[7] Voraus ging eine offensichtlich mehrwöchige blutige Auseinandersetzung zwischen Heiden und Christen, bei welcher Gelegenheit auf beiden Seiten, vor allem aber auf christlicher Seite, zahlreiche Beteiligte den Tod fanden. Die Heiden, die sich im *temenos* des Tempels (nicht im Tempel selbst) verschanzt hatten, waren erst zum Abzug bereit, als ihnen durch eine salomonische Entscheidung des Kaisers eine allgemeine Amnestie gewährt wurde und die Angehörigen der getöteten Christen mit dem Hinweis getröstet wurden, daß ihre Toten als Märtyrer in das Himmelreich einkehren würden.[8]

Inszeniert wurde dieses Ereignis durch den Patriarchen Theophilos (385–412), ein intriganter, in der Durchsetzung seiner Ziele skrupelloser Kirchenfürst auf dem *thronos* von Alexandreia, der unter anderem die Vertreibung und den nachfolgenden Tod des Johannes Chrysostomos zu verantworten hatte und sich beispielsweise auch als ein die Zukunft erkennender Prophet zu profilieren suchte, indem er vor der Schlacht bei Siscia und Poetovio im Juli 388 zwischen Kaiser Theodosius I. (379–395) und dem Usurpator Magnus Maximus (383–388) einen Boten aussandte mit Gratulationsschreiben für beide Kontrahenten und dem Auftrag, gleich nach der Entscheidung dem Sieger das für ihn bestimmte Schreiben zu übergeben und das andere zu vernichten. Die Sache flog jedoch auf, und der Bote des Theophilos mußte sich schleunigst aus dem Staube machen. In anderen Fragen, die Theophilos nicht unmittelbar interessierten, erwies er sich allerdings auch als überaus großzügig. Unter anderem erfüllte er dem Neuplatoniker Synesios alle von diesem verlangten, insbesondere auch einige Fragen des Glaubens betreffende Konzessionen, um ihn zur Übernahme des Bischofsamtes von Cyrene zu gewinnen.[9] Ebenso gewährte er dem Bischof der rigoristischen Novatianergemeinde in Alexandreia Theopemptos Existenzrecht inklusive einer Kirche innerhalb der Stadt,[10] was

[6] Zur Datierung s. Cantarelli 1968, 354–356 und nun Hahn 2006.
[7] Eine ausführliche Quellenübersicht bietet Schwartz 1966, 97–98.
[8] Soz. *h. e.* 7,15.
[9] Synes. *ep.* 105 (an den Bruder), übers. in Vogt 1985, 96–97.
[10] Évieux 1991, 28.

sein Nachfolger Kyrillos (412–444), ein ebenfalls streitbarer Patriarch, allerdings sofort aufhob und Theopemptos auf entehrende Weise aus der Stadt jagte.[11]

Doch zurück zum Sarapeion. Nachdem die Heiden den *temenos* des Sarapeions verlassen hatten, begann Theophilos mit der Entweihung des Tempels. Die Kultstatue, sicher ein großartiges Kunstwerk, als dessen Schöpfer Bryaxis von Athen gilt, wurde zerhackt, die einzelnen Teile wurden an mehreren Stellen in der Stadt verbrannt.[12] Die Bronzestandbilder und andere Gerätschaften aus Edelmetall wurden von der Kirche konfisziert und eingeschmolzen.[13] Wie weit im Anschluß daran eine Zerstörung des Tempels erfolgte, ist jedoch unklar und wohl auch zu bezweifeln.[14] Sokrates[15] und Sozomenos, die freilich beide nie in Alexandreia waren, sind zwar der Ansicht, daß er zerstört wurde, doch schreibt letzterer auch,[16] daß der Bau wenig später in eine nach dem Kaiser Arcadius (395–408) benannte Kirche umgewandelt wurde,[17] was doch die Erhaltung wesentlicher Bestandteile des Gebäudes voraussetzt. Bezog sich die Zerstörung nur auf die Nebengebäude? Doch da gibt es das Zeugnis des Orosius, der zwischen 412 und 415 durch Alexandreia kam und offenbar noch Vieles aufrecht stehend gesehen hatte.[18] Er erwähnt speziell die leeren und zerstörten hölzernen Büchergestelle der Bibliothek des Tempels, die sicher in einem der Nebengebäude untergebracht war. Die Bibliothek fiel also nicht einem Brand zum Opfer, sondern wurde geraubt.[19] Über den Tempel sagt Orosius freilich nichts. Dieser war offenbar inzwischen zur Arcadiuskirche geworden. Rufinus, der sich zwischen 372/3 und 397 immer wieder für mehrere Jahre in Alexandreia aufgehalten hat, vermochte neben dem Bericht des antiochenischen Rhetors Aphthonios (4./5. Jh.)[20] eine für seine Zeit brauchbare Beschreibung des Tempels zu bieten, die auch eine

[11] Socr. *h. e.* 7,7; s. auch Évieux 1991, 47.
[12] Rufin. *hist.* 11,23; Thdt. *h. e.* 5,23.
[13] Socr. *h. e.* 5,16.
[14] A. Martin scheint nach ihrer Darstellung (s. Martin 1998, 15) die Zerstörung des Bauwerks vorauszusetzen; dagegen Schwartz 1966, 107–108 und Orlandi 1968, 296.
[15] Socr. *h. e.* 5,16–17.
[16] Soz. *h. e.* 7,15.
[17] Ebenso Zach. Mit. *v. Sev.* (S. 71 und 137, Kugener); nach Schwartz 1966, 99, Anm. 13 gibt es für diese Kirche auch mehrere andere Benennungen.
[18] Oros. *hist.* 6,15,31.
[19] Epiph. *mens.* 11 hat sie um 390 noch vollständig gesehen (Hinweis J. Hahn).
[20] Text u. Übers. bei Heffter 1839, 377–489; wiederabgedruckt in Sabottka 1989, 320–328.

ausführliche, bei Aphthonios fehlende Würdigung des eigentlichen Tempelhauses enthielt, woraus zu schließen ist, daß er davon noch eine Menge gesehen hat, denn anderenfalls hätte er das sicher auf irgend eine Weise zum Ausdruck gebracht.[21] Doch wenn auch bis auf Rufinus und Orosius nicht viel geschehen war, heute steht von dem Sarapis-Tempel in Alexandreia und seinen Nebengebäuden kein Stein mehr auf dem anderen.[22]

Auch das Sarapeion bei dem etwa zwölf Meilen östlich von Alexandreia gelegenen, berühmt und berüchtigten antiken Badeort Kanopos ließ Theophilos zerstören, doch war dies mit weniger Aufregung verbunden. Zur Vorbereitung hatte Theophilos eine Gruppe von pachomianischen Mönchen nach Kanopos gesandt, um gegen das dort noch stark blühende Heidentum vorzugehen.[23] Was diese Mönche im einzelnen unternahmen, ist nicht bekannt. Jedenfalls war nach Eunapios die Zerstörung dieses Tempels eine Aktion des Militärs,[24] durch das der Tempel bis auf das Paviment (ἔδαφος)[25] abgetragen wurde. Letzteres bestand nach der Beschreibung des Eunapios aus schweren Steinplatten, die die Soldaten nicht zu bewegen vermochten, doch ist das eher polemisch zu verstehen, denn es ist kaum vorstellbar, daß das Militär, das überall im Reich für Bauaufgaben eingesetzt wurde, an der Bewegung großer Steinblöcke gescheitert wäre. Vermutlich hatte man das Paviment, um es eventuell für andere Zwecke zu benutzen, absichtlich am Ort belassen.

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[21] Rufin. *hist.* 11,23. Zwar sollen die beiden Bücher 10 und 11 seiner Kirchengeschichte im wesentlichen eine Übersetzung der Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios († 395) sein (dazu Altaner 1960, 213); doch wird er eine eventuell fehlerhafte Darstellung der Ereignisse in Alexandreia, wo er sich auskannte, sicherlich korrigiert haben.

[22] Zu den Grabungen im Sarapeion s. Rowe 1946, 1–112; kürzere Fassungen sind publiziert in Rowe 1942, 124–152; Rowe – Rees 1957, 485–512; sowie Sabottka 1989. Die von Rowe – Rees 1957, 502–505 als Reste der Arcadiuskirche angesehenen Fundamente sind allerdings derart insignifikant, daß sie auch alles mögliche andere sein könnten.

[23] Nach der *HPE* 11 (Theophilos I., 385–412, Nr. 23; S. 161–162, Evetts [PO 1,4:425–426]) soll er sie freilich nach Jerusalem geschickt haben, doch liegt hier wohl ein Mißverständnis vor, denn Jerusalem lag nicht im Zuständigkeitsbereich des Bischofs von Alexandreia (vgl. *can.* 2 des Konzils von Konstantinopel 381; jetzt neu Wohlmuth 2002, 30–31); nach dem koptischen Text der *Historia ecclesiastica Coptica* (ed. Orlandi 1970, 12–14, 61–62) hatte er zunächst Jerusalemer Mönche dafür bemüht, doch waren diese an der Aufgabe gescheitert und wurden dann durch Pachomianer Mönche ersetzt.

[24] Eun. *v. soph.* 6,11,1–7 (LCL ed. S. 423, wieder abgedruckt in Blockley 1983, 81, Nr. 56).

[25] Nicht „Grundmauern", wie Merkelbach 1995, 329 übersetzt.

Im Anschluß an diese Zerstörung des Tempels errichtete Theophilos mehrere kirchliche Bauten. Rufinus erwähnt davon zwei, ein Martyrium und eine Kirche mit allerdings sehr unklaren Angaben über deren Lage.[26] Nach der Übersetzung von R. Merkelbach lautet sein Text: „So entstand auf dem Grab des Sarapis, nachdem das unfromme Gebäude eingeebnet worden war, auf der einen Seite eine Kapelle zu Ehren eines Märtyrers und auf der anderen Seite eine Kirche." Andere und auch jüngere Quellen zeigen allerdings, daß es sich hierbei um eine stark vereinfachende Darstellung der Geschehnisse handelt. Schwierigkeiten bereitet vor allem die Formulierung *ex uno latere martyrium, ex altero consurgit ecclesia*, die Merkelbach nach allgemeinem Vorbild mit „auf der einen Seite … und auf der anderen Seite …" wiedergibt. Dies führt zu der irreführenden Vorstellung, daß diese Kirchen zu beiden Seiten des Sarapistempels von Kanopos errichtet worden wären, was von anderen Quellen nicht bestätigt wird. Insbesondere wird das Martyrium auch in späteren Quellen noch häufig erwähnt. Es befand sich am südöstlichen Stadtrand von Alexandreia, und zwar im Gebiet des Brucheion, des alten Palastviertels,[27] kann also nicht ein Bau im Gebiet von Kanopos gewesen sein. Dem Sinn des Textes kommt man daher wesentlich näher, wenn man das lateinische Wort *latere* (*latus*) nicht mit „Seite" sondern—wie es als Alternative auch in den Lexika vorgeschlagen wird—mit „nächster Umgebung" übersetzt[28] und als Bezugspunkte nicht nur das Sarapeion von Kanopos, sondern—allerdings unausgesprochen—auch das von Alexandreia heranzieht. Jedenfalls wird man auf diese Weise von dem Zwang befreit, im Gebiet von Kanopos zwei kirchliche Gründungen des Theophilos zu lokalisieren.

Unmittelbar nach der Erwähnung der beiden Kirchen gibt Rufinus den ergänzenden Hinweis,[29] daß das Martyrium zur Aufnahme der einst von Athanasios (328–373) in der Markuskirche von Alexandreia hinterlegten Gebeine des Johannes des Täufers bestimmt worden sei, das dann folgerichtig die Bezeichnung „Martyrium (oder einfach Kirche) des Johannes des Täufers" erhielt. Theophanes[30] bietet als Zeitpunkt dafür das Jahr 397/8 n. Chr., was einleuchtet, da so auch die Bauzeit der

[26] Rufin. *hist.* 11,27.
[27] Zuletzt Gascou 1998, 29.
[28] Vgl. etwa Menge 1911, 427.
[29] Rufin. *hist.* 11,28.
[30] Thphn. *chron.* anno mundi 5890. Siehe die neue Übersetzung von Mango – Scott 1997, 114; dasselbe Jahr bietet auch ein nach der Einschätzung von A. van Lantschoot zeitgenössischer koptischer Text, s. Lantschoot 1931, 244–245 (ed.); 251 (trans.).

Kirche berücksichtigt wird. Nach Abū l-Makārim (13. Jh.) wurde 643 der chalkedonische Patriarch Kyros in dem Johannesmartyrium bestattet.[31] Dieses befand sich also damals in chalkedonischen Händen.

Die zweite von Rufinus als Gründung des Theophilos genannte Kirche befand sich im Gebiet von Kanopos und wird von dem rund 200 Jahre später lebenden Sophronios, dem späteren Patriarchen von Jerusalem (634–638), als diejenige Kirche beschrieben, in der Kyrillos (412–444), der Neffe und Nachfolger des Theophilos auf dem *thronos* von Alexandreia, ein christliches Heilungszentrum der Hll. Kyros und Johannes eingerichtet hatte. Sophronios, der selbst dieses Heilungszentrum wegen eines Augenleidens aufgesucht hatte, nennt sie die „Kirche der Evangelisten".[32] In seinem letzten Wunderbericht,[33] der offenbar seine eigene Heilung zum Gegenstand hat, beschreibt er diese Kirche als einen zweischaligen Zentralbau mit einer inneren oktogonalen Stützenstellung; einer der seltenen Fälle, in dem in der hagiographischen Literatur die Gestalt eines Bauwerks mitgeteilt wird.[34] Sie befand sich in einer gewissen Entfernung von Kanopos, in oder bei der Ortschaft Menuthis (ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κώμη Μενουθῇ),[35] in deren Nähe es ein berühmtes,

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[31] Abû 'l-Makârim 235 (trans. Samuel 1992); nach dem apokryphen *Pan. Mac. Antae.* 16,1 (ed./trans. Johnson 1980, 96f.) soll auch der Bischof Makarios von Tkôw (Antaeopolis) dort bestattet worden sein, woraus immerhin hervorgeht, daß damals, in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jhs, sich die Kirche in monophysitischen Händen befand.

[32] Sophr. H. *min. Cyr. et Jo.* 27 (*PG* 87,3, col. 3413A).

[33] Sophr. H. *min. Cyr. et Jo.* 70,11–12 (*PG* 87,3, col. 3669A–B; Fernandez Marcos 1975, 596–597).

[34] Und zwar fand anläßlich der dem Sophronios in einer Vision übermittelten Heilung ein gemeinsames Mahl aller sich im Kirchenraum aufhaltender Kranken statt mit einer (11) τράπεζα κυκλοτερής, καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς τοῦ σηκοῦ στοᾶς διατείνουσα τούτου γὰρ αὐτὴ τὸ σχῆμα κεκλήρωται, εἰ καὶ γωνίαις ὄκτω τὴν μίαν τοῦ κύκλου γραμμὴν διαστέλλουσα, σχῆμα δείκνυσιν ἕτερον οὐ πάντῃ τοῦ κυκλοτεροῦς διιστάμενον" („kreisförmigen Mahlordnung [τράπεζα], die sich über die gesamte Säulenhalle (στοά) der Kirche (σηκός) erstreckte. Von dieser [der Kirche] übernahm jene [die Säulenhalle] die Form, auch wenn sie [die Säulenhalle] an acht Ecken die Kreislinie aufbricht, wodurch eine Form entsteht, die sich nicht gänzlich von der Kreisform entfernt" [trans. J.K. Grossmann]); bereits Kötting 1980, 207, Anm. 675 hat diese Bemerkung auf die Gestalt der Kirche bezogen, doch unglücklicherweise mit der Angabe „PG 87,3, 3668 B/D" statt „3669 A/B" falsch zitiert.

[35] Zur allgemeinen Lage s. Toussoun 1934, 342–354, Taf. 8–9 mit allerlei Beobachtungen zu den heute unter dem Wasserspiegel gelegenen Ruinen; wenig glaubhaft ist allerdings, daß die Kirche der Evangelisten derart nahe, wie Toussoun 1934, Taf. 8–9 angibt, bei dem Isieion gestanden haben soll. Ein Gesamtüberblick über die archäologischen Forschungen in dem Gebiet ist zusammengestellt von Bernand 1970, 259–294, Taf. 18–19. Es gelang u. a. auch die Reste des Sarapeions von Kanopos zu identifizieren (Bernand 1970, 276–277); dagegen blieb die Lage des Isieions hypothetisch (Bernand 1970, 279–280; 285–286).

auf Inkubationspraktiken beruhendes heidnisches Heilungszentrum der Göttin Isis, der *Isis Medica* oder der κυρία Μένούθι, wie man sie auch nannte, gab. Es besteht kein Zweifel, daß mit jener Gründung des christlichen Heilungszentrums diesem Isieion Konkurrenz gemacht werden sollte.[36] Eine Zerstörung des Isieions wurde bezeichnenderweise von beiden Patriarchen unterlassen. Quellenmäßig belegt ist nur die Auflösung eines ebenfalls in Menuthis befindlichen Nebenheiligtums der Isis,[37] keineswegs des Haupttempels, die erst im letzten Viertel des 5. Jhs unter dem monophysitischen Patriarchen Petros Mongos (477, 482–489) vonstatten ging.[38] Die bei dieser Aktion erbeuteten Statuen und anderen Kultgeräte wurden in einer Art Triumphzug nach Alexandreia überführt und dort—wie das bei entsprechenden Anlässen vermutlich immer geschah—der Lächerlichkeit preisgegeben. Von einer Zerstörung des Tempelgebäudes wird nichts berichtet. Auch das Heilungszentrum der Isis bei ihrem Haupttempel wird nicht mehr erwähnt. Offensichtlich hatte das kyrillische Konkurrenz-Unternehmen der Hll. Kyros und Johannes bereits zum Erfolg geführt und den Isiskult eintrocknen lassen. Die von Petros Mongos ausgehobene Isiskultstätte scheint eines der letzten Refugien des absterbenden Heidentums gewesen zu sein, in dem die verbliebenen Heiden als Mitglieder eines privaten Kultvereins, ohne Aufsehen zu erregen und wohl auch durch die Zahlung von Schweigegeldern an ihre christlichen Nachbarn in aller Heimlichkeit ihre Kultübungen pflegten.

Weitere Tempelzerstörungen, die etwa im zweiten Viertel bis Mitte des 5. Jhs stattfanden, werden von Schenute, dem Abt und Archimandriten des nach ihm benannten Schenuteklosters bei Atripe, berichtet.[39] Wegen solcher Aktivitäten ist er mehrfach vor Gericht gezogen

[36] Nach Gascou 1998, 25 und Martin 1998, 17 soll das erst unter dem monophysitischen Patriarchen Petros Mongos geschehen sein, doch vermögen wir ihren Argumentationen nicht zu folgen. Über Kyrillos' eigene Stellungnahme zur Gründung des christlichen Inkubationszentrums in Kanopos s. Merkelbach 1995, 327–328 mit Textauszügen. Außerdem hat man bei dem die Aktion des Petros Mongos betreffenden Text des Zacharias Scholastikos (*v. Sev.*, S. 27ff., Kugener) nicht den Eindruck, daß es sich bei der zwischen den Häusern von Menuthis versteckten Isiskultstätte um das berühmte Isieion handelt, und es ist weder von der Zerstörung des Tempels noch vom Bau einer Kirche noch von Inkubationsriten die Rede.

[37] Es ist durchaus normal, daß sich an einem Ort mehrere derselben Gottheit geweihte Tempel befinden: s. Otto 1905, 18–23.

[38] Zach. Mit. *v. Sev.* (S. 27–35, Kugener).

[39] Belege bei Leipoldt 1903, 177–182; zu Schenute vgl. auch Emmel (in vorliegendem Band).

worden.[40] Die in der leider nur bruchstückhaft überlieferten Vita des Moses von Abydos berichtete Zerstörung eines Apollontempels in Abydos in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jhs, in deren Verlauf 30 heidnische Priester (23 Weeb- und 7 Hont-Priester, bei denen es sich freilich nur um niedrige Priestergrade handelt) ums Leben kamen,[41] scheint nur einem unbedeutenden kleineren Heiligtum gegolten zu haben, denn der eigentliche Haupttempel von Abydos steht noch heute nahezu unversehrt aufrecht. Nur ein einziger Raum in diesem Tempel scheint wegen seiner zahlreichen koptischen Graffiti von christlichen Nonnen für Exorzismen benutzt worden zu sein, doch geschah das nach den Daten der Graffiti erst Jahrhunderte später.[42]

Fast vollständig und bis auf die Grundmauern abgerissen wurde das im 3. vorchristlichen Jh. zu Ehren des Ptolemaios III. Euergetes (246–221) errichtete Heiligtum von Hermopolis Magna, um auf demselben Areal im 5. Jh. eine große Querschiffbasilika zu errichten.[43] Das Abbruchmaterial des Tempels—so weit es sich nicht für eine Wiederverwendung im Aufgehenden eignete wie z. B. die Säulenkapitelle und die stärker profilierten Gebälkstücke—wurde zerschlagen und in die Fundamente gesteckt. Die Frische der Bemalung dieser Teile, wie sie von den Ausgräbern vorgefunden wurden,[44] läßt keinen Zweifel, daß die Tempelgebäude bis zum Bau der Kirche aufrecht gestanden haben.

Vollständig abgetragen wurde auch der kleine Tempel von Taphosiris Magna[45] im Westen von Alexandreia. Allem Anschein nach geschah das im Rahmen der Umwandlung des Tempelareals in ein militärisches Kastell[46]

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[40] Leipoldt 1903, 178–182.

[41] Till 1936, 46–81, bes. 67–68; nach Till 1936, 70 scheint dieses Ereignis kurz vor den Religionsgesprächen des Kaisers Justinian in Konstantinopel (536) stattgefunden zu haben; s. auch Grossmann 1999, 55–57.

[42] Crum 1904, 39–41, Nr. 1–49, Taf. 25–37.

[43] Wace – Megaw – Skeat 1959, 17–81, Taf. 2.

[44] Wace – Megaw – Skeat 1959, 8–10, Taf. 1.

[45] Zu Resten und Lage dieses Tempels s. Vörös 2001, 136–165, Abb. 76.

[46] Die vielfach verbreitete Auffassung, daß es sich bei den spätrömischen Einbauten in diesem Tempelareal um Mönchszellen einer Laura der großen Mönchskolonie am neunten Meilenstein von Alexandreia *Ennaton* handelt (zuletzt Vörös 2001), muß zurückgewiesen werden. Mönchszellen—zumal wenn es sich um Niederlassungen von Anachoreten handelt—haben ein ganz anderes Aussehen. Auch die Erwähnung einer mit der Ortschaft Taphosiris verbundenen (und nach ihr benannten) Mönchsniederlassung in der *HPE* 16 (Isaak 686–689, Nr. 41; S. 280, Evetts [PO 5,1:26]) darf nicht auf die Baureste in dem Tempelareal von Taphosiris Magna bezogen werden, denn es lassen sich keinerlei Hinweise auf eine monastische Spätbenutzung der Gebäude nach dem Abzug der Truppe nach der persischen Invasion von 619 n. Chr. erkennen. Die Zellen einer nach Taphosiris benannten Anachoretenlaura sollten etwa so ausgesehen

für eine im 4. Jh. dorthin verlegte Truppeneinheit,[47] bei welcher Gelegenheit das durch den Abbruch des Tempels frei gewordene Baumaterial zur Reparatur der Umfassungsmauern verwendet wurde.[48] Der Tempel scheint also schon seit längerer Zeit nicht mehr benutzt worden zu sein.

Spuren gewaltsamer Zerstörung durch Feuereinwirkung sind u. a. im Chnumtempel auf Elephantine und an mehreren Stellen im *temenos* des Ammontempels von Diospolis Magna, dem heutigen Luqṣur, zu erkennen. Beide hatten in der Spätantike ebenfalls als Militärlager gedient. Es ist damit nicht sicher, ob ihre Zerstörungen den Tempeln oder den Truppenlagern galten und im letzteren Fall als militärische Aktionen anzusehen sind, die erst wesentlich später und von äußeren Feinden verursacht wurden.

Andere Tempel kamen glimpflicher davon. Offiziell bis in die justinianische Zeit geduldet wurde der Kult im Isis-Tempel von Philae, doch hatte das außenpolitische Gründe, da den im Süden benachbarten Blemmyern als Gegenleistung für friedfertiges Verhalten und Unterlassung von Raubzügen in das Reichsgebiet der Besuch des Tempels und die zeitweilige Überlassung der Isis-Statue zu Orakelzwecken[49] und mit Fruchtbarkeitsriten in Verbindung stehende Prozessionen während der Saatzeit im eigenen Lande zugestanden wurde.[50] Der Horustempel von Apollinopolis Magna (Idfū) und der Hathortempel von Tentyra (Dandara) stehen sogar noch heute nahezu unversehrt aufrecht.

Dieser sehr ungleichmäßige Befund läßt deutlich erkennen, daß es trotz der Beteuerungen des Rufinus[51] und anderer christlicher Autoren eine systematische Zerstörung der heidnischen Tempelgebäude in Ägypten nicht gegeben hat. Sie hätte auch im Widerspruch zu der kaiserlichen Gesetzgebung gestanden, nach der die Tempel zwar zu schließen, die Opfer zu unterlassen, aber die Baulichkeiten als Zierde

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haben, wie sie in großer Zahl in den Kellia nachgewiesen wurden (s. zuletzt Kasser et al. 1999, passim) und verstreut in der Nachbarschaft gelegen haben.

[47] Die Truppe kann erst im 4. Jh. dorthin verlegt worden wie aus einem bei Eus. *h. e.* 6,40 überlieferten Brief des Dionysios von Alexandreia († 264) über seine Gefangenschaft in Taphosiris Magna hervorgeht, aus der er durch eine Hochzeitsgesellschaft, die zufällig davon erfuhr, befreit wurde, während die bewachenden Soldaten die Flucht ergriffen. Die Anzahl der letzteren kann also nur sehr gering gewesen sein.

[48] Mitteilung von G. Vörös.

[49] Prisc. fr. 21.

[50] Nach Proc. *Pers.* 1,19 geht diese Regelung bereits auf Diocletian zurück; s. auch Castiglione 1970, 90–103, bes. 95–97 und in vorliegendem Band Hahn (zu Philae).

[51] Rufin. *hist.* 11,28.

der Städte zu erhalten seien. Ein Gebot zur Zerstörung der Tempel, auch wenn das von verschiedener Seite behauptet wird, hat es nie gegeben. Auch das überaus scharfe Gesetz vom 16. Juni 391[52] mit strengen Opferverboten und hohen Strafandrohungen bei Ungehorsam enthält keinerlei Hinweise, aus denen sich die Berechtigung zur Zerstörung der Tempel ableiten ließe, und dasselbe gilt auch noch für das sehr ausführliche Gesetz vom 8. November 392 mit einer detaillierten Aufstellung all dessen, was verboten war.[53] Zerstörungen kamen daher im wesentlichen nur durch ungeplante Übergriffe des von Fanatikern aufgewiegelten Mobs zur Ausführung.[54] Auch die eingangs erwähnten blutigen Krawalle im Zusammenhang mit der Auflösung des Sarapiskultes in Alexandreia waren eine unbeabsichtigte Begleiterscheinung einer ganz anderen Aktion und wurden ausgelöst durch die Empörung der Heiden über die von Theophilos veranstaltete Verhöhnung mehrerer heidnischer Kultgegenstände, die bei der Übernahme eines ursprünglich von Constantius II. (337–361) den Arianern zur Benutzung als Kirche überlassenen Tempels[55] in den unterirdischen Krypten dieses Tempels gefunden wurden.[56]

Auch die in den Beschreibungen der Tempelzerstörungen hin und wieder mitgeteilten Methoden deuten darauf, daß es sich vielfach um recht unvorbereitete Aktionen handelte. Nach Libanios brachten die Mönche Eisenstangen und Steine mit.[57] Viele beteiligten sich aber auch nur mit den bloßen Händen am Zerstörungswerk.[58] Der Soldat, der in Alexandreia die weit überlebensgroße Sarapisstatue zerschlug, hatte

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[52] *Cod. Theod.* 16,10,11.

[53] *Cod. Theod.* 16,10,12. Die Behauptung des Augustinus (*civ.* 5,26), daß Theodosius I. die Zerstörung der Tempel befohlen habe, findet in den Erlassen des Kaisers keine Bestätigung; s. auch Schwartz 1966, 100, Anm. 18.

[54] Daß sich die Ausführenden der Ungesetzlichkeit ihres Tuns gelegentlich durchaus bewußt waren, ergibt sich aus der Beteuerung des Schenute bei der Abtragung des Tempels von Atripe, daß hierbei—da der Tempel seit Jahrzehnten nicht mehr benutzt sei—nichts Unbotmäßiges geschehen sei; s. Leipoldt 1903, 178.

[55] Er wird von Rufin. *hist.* 11,22 als öffentliche Basilika, von Socr. *h. e.* 5,16 als Mithräum und von Soz. *h. e.* 7,15 als Dionysostempel bezeichnet; nach Gascou 1998, 31 ist allein die Bezeichnung als Mithräum berechtigt.

[56] Soz. *h. e.* 7,15. Von seiner Anlage her scheint es sich bei dieser Arianerkirche um ein sehr nachlässig ausgeführtes Gebäude gehandelt zu haben, das bereits nach eineinhalb Generationen wieder baufällig war. Für diese Nachlässigkeit der Bauausführung spricht auch der Tatbestand, daß die von Soz. *h. e.* 7,15 als *adyta* bezeichneten Krypten des Tempels nicht ausgeräumt worden waren. Siehe zu diesen Vorgängen aber auch die ausführliche Diskussion bei Hahn im vorliegenden Band.

[57] Lib. *or.* 30,8.

[58] Lib. *or.* 30,8; Eun. *v. soph.* 6,11,1–7.

wenigstens eine schwere Hacke dabei, mit der er offenbar an der Statue emporgeklettert war.[59] Ernsthafter, allerdings in seinem Sinne, scheint sich nur Markellos, der Bischof von Apamea, für die Zerstörung des Jupitertempels von Apamea präpariert zu haben. Nach Darstellung des Theodoret wurden unter einigen Säulen die Fundamente weggenommen und durch Holzstützen ersetzt.[60] Dann goß Markellos im voraus bereitetes Weihwasser über die Hölzer, um den Segen Gottes auf seiner Seite zu haben, und erst danach legte er mit seinen Leuten das Feuer. Als er kurze Zeit später dasselbe bei dem ebenfalls in seiner Diözese gelegenen großen Tempel von Aulon versuchte, verließ ihn allerdings der Erfolg. Während er für einen Augenblick allein stand, wurde er von den herbeigeeilten erbosten Heiden überwältigt und in die Flammen geworfen.[61]

Grundsätzlich werden von den christlichen Autoren den handelnden Akteuren bei allen Tempelzerstörungen edle Motive unterstellt.[62] Etwas anders sieht die Sache aus, wenn man sich bewußt macht, daß in den Tempeln allerlei Schätze lagerten, die sich einschmelzen und zu Geld machen ließen, ein Motiv, auf das insbesondere Eunapios verweist.[63] Daß Theophilos diese Dinge an sich nahm, um damit sein Kirchenbauprogramm zu finanzieren, ist kaum zu bezweifeln. Auch wenn ihm diese Schätze zur Unterstützung der Armen überlassen wurden,[64] so bereitete es ihm doch keine Schwierigkeiten, diese Unterstützung der Armen als Errichtung von Kirchenbauten zu interpretieren. Entsprechende Beweggründe scheinen auch bei Schenute von Atripe vorgelegen zu haben, vor allem wenn er sich an den in den von ihm heimgesuchten Tempeln gefundenen Idolen vergriff.[65] Zwar soll er sie nach der bohairischen *vita* des Schenute zerbrochen und in den Fluß geworfen haben,[66] doch gilt das vermutlich nur für Statuetten aus Ton und Gips, die sich anderweitig nicht verwerten ließen.

Auch das Baumaterial der Tempelgebäude war ein wertvoller Gewinn und konnte für Kirchenbauten wiederverwendet werden. Die

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[59] Rufin. *hist.* 11,23.
[60] Thdt. *h. e.* 5,22.
[61] Soz. *h. e.* 7,15. Vgl. Delehaye 1935, 232–236.
[62] Dagegen schon Eun. *v. soph.* 6,11,1–7.
[63] Eun. *v. soph.* (ed. W.C. Wright, LCL) 422; zugegeben auch in der koptischen Patriarchengeschichte, zit. bei Lantschoot 1931, 239.
[64] Socr. *h. e.* 5,16.
[65] Leipoldt 1903, 179–181.
[66] Emmel 2002, 104.

große Kirche des Schenuteklosters bei Atripe scheint komplett aus dem Hausteinmaterial des spätptolemäischen Tempels der Triphis, der Göttin des Horusauges (äg. Repyt)[67] von Atripe errichtet worden zu sein.[68] Die bis vor wenigen Jahren frei liegenden Fundamente dieser Kirche ließen noch allenthalben die pharaonischen Inschriften auf den hier verwendeten Hausteinblöcken erkennen. Im aufgehenden Mauerwerk hatte man diese Inschriften getilgt,[69] und nur an den größeren, zumeist aus Granit gearbeiteten Steinplatten wie unter den Stürzen und Treppenläufen belassen, worauf schon Vansleb (1672) mit einer charakteristischen Bemerkung „mais elles sont presque toutes posées à rebours" verweist.[70]

Ähnliches geschah bei der Trikonchoskirche von Tentyra (Dandara), die in ihrem gesamten erhaltenen Bestand aus wiederverwendeten Sandsteinquadern des unmittelbar nördlich der Kirche befindlichen und etwa zur Hälfte abgeräumten römischen Geburtshauses (Mammisi) errichtet war. Auf dem verbliebenen Paviment im Hof dieses Tempels ist der Grundriß des Trikonchos der Kirche im Maßstab 1:1 eingeritzt; er diente als Vorzeichnung zur Bearbeitung der im Trikonchos und in dessen Kuppelwölbung zu verwendenden Keilsteine.[71] In Abū Mīnā wurde das in der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jhs an den Erstbau der Gruftkirche angefügte Baptisterium komplett aus wiederverwendeten Quadern eines wohl in der Nähe befindlichen ptolemäischen oder hochkaiserzeitlichen *naiskos* des Horus-Harpokrates erbaut.[72] Das Steinmaterial der vermutlich erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jhs erbauten Westkirche auf

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[67] Zu dieser erst in spätptolemäisch-römischer Zeit stärker verehrten Göttin s. Rush 1948, 181–185 sowie Rössler-Köhler 1984.

[68] Der Tempel war bereits seit längerer Zeit außer Gebrauch, so daß Schenute sagen konnte, daß bei seinem Abbau nichts Unbotmäßiges geschehen sei: Leipoldt 1903, 178.

[69] Nach Mitteilung von Peers 1904, 149 und Clarke 1912, 153 sollen hieroglyphische Inschriften auch auf den Bodenplatten zu sehen gewesen sein, doch sind diese durch häufige Begehung inzwischen abgescheuert. Die Inschriften auf der als Türschwelle wiederverwendeten großen Stele unter der Nordtür des vor einigen Jahren freigelegten großen Unterkunftsbaues im Westen der Kirche wurden allerdings getilgt; s. Grossmann – Mohammed 1991, 53–63, bes. 55ff., Abb. 3 (seitenverkehrt) (in Grossmann 2002a, 293–294, Abb. 154 irrtümlich als Magazinbau bezeichnet).

[70] Vansleb 1677, 375.

[71] Hinweis darauf bereits bei Monneret de Villard 1925, 48, Abb. 49.

[72] Auch von Kaufmann 1910, 74–76 wird die mögliche Existenz eines derartigen paganen Heiligtums im Gebiet der Menasstadt nicht in Abrede gestellt. Er bezweifelt jedoch, daß zwischen dem Kult des Harpokrates und dem des Menas irgendein Zusammenhang bestünde; dazu neuerdings ausführlich Cannuyer 1997, 145–146.

der Insel Philae[73] besteht mehrheitlich aus mit pharaonischem Dekor versehenen Spolien, doch stammen diese, wie aus der Uneinheitlichkeit der verwendeten Blöcke hervorgeht,[74] aus sehr unterschiedlichen Bauten. Ebenso wurde die große Transeptbasilika von Hermopolis Magna (al-Ašmūnayn) aus überarbeiteten Spolien des abgerissenen ptolemäischen Tempels Ptolemaios' III. Euergetes (246–222 v. Chr.) errichtet. Die hohen Granitschäfte der Säulen stammen alle aus kaiserzeitlichen Bauten, wobei jedoch bisher nicht klar ist, um welche Bauten es sich dabei handelt. Auch die in anderen frühchristlichen Kirchenanlagen enthaltenen hohen Granitsäulenschäfte waren ausschließlich kaiserzeitlichen Großbauten entnommen worden. Dem 5. oder 6. Jh. zuweisbare Originalschäfte aus Granit von dieser Größe gibt es nicht.

Das Baumaterial des eingangs erwähnten Tempels von Taphosiris Magna wurde zur Reparatur der Umfassungsmauern des Tempelareals verwendet, als dort eine Kavallerie-Einheit des spätrömischen Heeres einzog. Für die aus wesentlich kleinteiligerem Material errichteten Unterkunftsräume der Soldaten hatte man das Hofpflaster des Tempelareals herausgerissen.[75] Wenig später wurde mit dem letzteren Material auch die kleine Kirche erbaut, doch kamen hierfür nur noch Restbestände zur Verwendung. Wann dies geschah, ist nicht überliefert, doch dürfte die Abtragung des Tempels kaum wesentlich vor Theodosius I. durchgeführt worden sein. Unklar ist auch, in welchem Umfang Zerstörungen in dem ausgedehnten Tempelareal von Karnak angerichtet wurden.[76]

Die von den christlichen Autoren mehrfach angesprochenen Tempelzerstörungen durch christliche Eiferer können jedoch nur in einer gewissermaßen heißen Phase der Auseinandersetzung mit den heidnischen Vorgängern als durch religiöse Motive veranlaßt bewertet werden und hatten bei genauerer Prüfung der Vorgänge nur die Entweihung und Unbenutzbarmachung der Tempel zum Ziel.[77] Zerstörungen der

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[73] Lyons 1896, 32, Plan 1 P; Clarke 1912, 89, Taf. 24,1; Bock 1901, 85–86, Abb. 94.

[74] Bernand 1969, 313–314, Taf. 98 (unten); der Eindruck des Ungeordneten wird freilich verstärkt durch den Tatbestand, daß offenbar bei neuzeitlichen Aufräumungsarbeiten lose herumliegende Blöcke auf die Mauern der Kirche zurückgelegt wurden. Das bei Lyons 1896, Taf. 47 veröffentlichte Foto zeigt einen erheblich geordneteren Verband.

[75] Mitteilung von G. Vörös.

[76] Einen schwachen Überblick mit wenigen Details bieten Munier – Pillet 1929, 58–88 und Coquin 1972, 168–178.

[77] Siehe auch Schwartz 1966, 107–108.

baulichen Substanz dürfte es vor Julian kaum und—wenn überhaupt—in der Mehrzahl wohl erst nach Theodosius I. gegeben haben. Doch waren die Tempel erst einmal entweiht, ihrer Kultstatuen beraubt, galten sie als bequem erreichbare Steinbrüche, aus denen zudem bereits fertig zugeschlagene Quader gewonnen werden konnten. Das galt um so mehr, als man im Pharaonenreich auch schon früher sich gerne des Baumaterials von nicht mehr in Benutzung befindlichen Tempeln für die Ausführung von Neubauten bediente. Man entnahm ihnen jeweils nur so viel Material, wie gerade benötigt wurde. Der Abbau bzw. die Abtragung dieser Tempel zog sich so über Jahrhunderte hin.

An der Ruine des Chnumtempels von Elephantine lassen sich verschiedene Phasen der Abbruchtätigkeit deutlich voneinander unterscheiden. Während man in den früheren Phasen vor allem an vollständigen Quadern interessiert war, denn die aus dieser Zeit stehengebliebenen Partien des Tempels wiesen ausschließlich heile, unversehrte Blöcke auf, hat man in späteren Abbruchphasen darauf keinen Wert mehr gelegt. Die Blöcke wurden aus dem Mauerwerk herausgebrochen und vielleicht auch gleich am Ort in kleinere Stücke zerschlagen, so daß praktisch nur Bruchsteinmaterial herauskam. Eine totale Beseitigung der Tempel war nie beabsichtigt, wenn auch am Schluß in einigen Fällen wie in Alexandreia und Taphosiris Magna ein derartiger Zustand tatsächlich erreicht wurde. Solches geschah generell freilich nur an Stätten, in deren Nachbarschaft ein hoher Bedarf an billigem Steinmaterial bestand. Andere Tempel, die weit von städtischen Siedlungen entfernt lagen, wie das z. B. in Apollinopolis Magna (Idfū), Tentyra (Dandara) und auf der Insel Philae der Fall war, blieben bis heute nahezu unangetastet.

Ebenso fand eine Umwandlung eines pharaonischen Tempels in eine Kirche nur sehr selten statt. Grund dafür war offenbar der Tatbestand, daß sich im Gegensatz zu den klassischen Tempeln der hellenistisch-römischen Welt die pharaonischen Tempel wegen ihrer baulichen Gestalt mit vielen relativ kleinen und dunklen Räumen nicht für die Verwendung als Kirchen eigneten. Nur ein einziges Mal ist derartiges überzeugend gelungen, und zwar in der sogenannten Festhalle Thutmosis III. (18. Dyn.) im Tempelbezirk von Karnak (Abb. 1), deren sonst nicht ein zweites Mal belegte fünfschiffige Grundrißgestalt mit äußerem Umgangsschiff und dreischiffiger Mittelpartie dem Grundriß einer fünfschiffigen Umgangsbasilika, wie sie für die Frühzeit des ägyptischen Kirchenbaus charakteristisch ist,[78]

[78] Grossmann 2002a, 19–25.

sehr entgegenkam.[79] Daß der Sarapistempel von Alexandreia sich in eine Kirche, die Arcadiuskirche, umwandeln ließ, lag wohl daran, daß er nach Art eines klassischen Tempels ausgeführt war.[80] Sonst hat man sich bei der Übernahme der pharaonischen Tempel für den kirchlichen Gebrauch immer nur auf einzelne Räume beschränkt, während die übrigen Räume durch Vermauerung der Türen unzugänglich gemacht wurden. Bei dem unter Constantius II. von den Arianern zu einer Kirche umfunktionierten Tempel von Alexandreia[81] hatte man nicht einmal die in den von Sozomenos als *adyta* bezeichneten Krypten gelagerten heidnischen Kultobjekte herausgenommen, so daß sie Theophilos rund 40 Jahre später bei Übernahme des Gebäudes für die orthodoxe Kirche noch vorfand.[82]

Sonst hat man beim Tempel des Mandulis von Kalabša den dreijochigen Pronaos als fünfschiffigen Naos genutzt und das liturgisch notwendige dreiteilige Sanktuarium jenseits der Schranken, im Bereich des Hofes, neu errichtet (Abb. 2). Zusätzlich erforderlich waren nur der Einbruch zweier Türen in die Schrankenmauern und die Vermauerung der Interkolumnien oberhalb dieser Schranken, wo man allerdings wohl auch ein paar Fenster freigehalten haben wird. Umgekehrt wurde vermutlich bei dem der Insel Philae westlich gegenüber gelegenen Tempel von Bīğa der Säulenhof durch Hinzufügung von weiteren Kolonnaden in einen siebenschiffigen Naos umgewandelt und die Apsis in den Pylondurchgang eingeschnitten (Abb. 3).[83] Im Isistempel auf Philae selbst hat man die Säulenvorhalle inklusive eines Teils des vorderen Hofes durch Einfügung einer ostwestlichen Wand quer durch den Hof in einen dreischiffigen Basilikaraum verwandelt und das östliche Joch zu einem dreiteiligen Sanktuarium umgebaut (Abb. 4). Im Month-Tempel von Petemout (heute Madāmūd)[84] erwies sich nur der schmale mit einer Säulenportikus versehene Südhof als für eine kirchliche Nutzung geeignet, indem man durch Hinzufügung einer weiteren Säulenreihe den Hof als Naos zu überdecken vermochte und am Ostende ein dreiteiliges Sanktuarium mit Apsis schuf (Abb. 5). Auch die auf drei Joche ausgelegte fünfschiffige Hypostylhalle des

[79] Grossmann 1995, 192–193, Abb. 2; sowie Grossmann 2002a, 436, Abb. 166.
[80] Siehe die Rekonstruktion des Tempels von Rowe 1942, 136–137, Taf. 38.
[81] Zur Bezeichnung dieses Tempels s. o. Anm. 55.
[82] Rufin. *hist.* 11,22; Socr. *h. e.* 5,16; Soz. *h. e.* 7,15.
[83] Grossmann 2002b.
[84] Bisson de la Roque – Clère 1927, 154–160, Taf. 9; s. auch Grossmann 1995, 193, Abb. 4.

Chonstempels von Karnak, die in der Querrichtung einem dreischiffigen Saal entsprach, wurde in eine Kirche verwandelt (Abb. 6), wie Ein- und Abarbeitungen an den östlichen Säulen erkennen lassen, die auf den Einbau einer Querwand mit mehreren Türen deuten.[85] Dahinter scheint ein Altar aufgerichtet gewesen zu sein. Möglicherweise war das Sanktuarium selbst auch dreigeteilt, wie durch die winkelförmigen Ausarbeitungen an den Säulenbasen nahegelegt wird.

Eine der großartigsten Kircheneinbauten in einer pharaonischen Tempelanlage ist schließlich die Kirche im zweiten, ursprünglich als Peristyl ausgebildeten Vorhof des Millionenjahrhauses Ramses' III. in Kastron Memnonion (besser bekannt unter der arabischen Bezeichnung Madīnat Hābū) in Theben-West (Abb. 7). Durch Vermauerung der Interkolumnien zwischen den Säulen und Osirispfeilern sowie den Einzug von vier zusätzlichen Säulenreihen wurde der Hof in eine fünfschiffige Umgangsbasilika verwandelt. Nur in der Mitte der Ostseite hatte man eine der originalen Säulen herausgenommen, um an ihre Stelle die Apsis einzubauen.[86] Leider steht von dieser Kirche nichts mehr aufrecht. Man muß sich—um eine Vorstellung zu gewinnen—mit alten Aufnahmen und Reisenotizen von Besuchern des 19. Jhs behelfen, denn alle frühchristlichen Einbauten im Tempel wurden aus puristischen Gründen ohne Registrierung abgerissen.

Bei mehreren Tempeln, wie z. B. in Diospolis Magna, dem heutigen Luqṣur, in Latopolis (Isnā), Abydos (dort nicht erhalten) und Tentyra (Dandara) stehen die Kirchen sogar außerhalb der Tempelgebäude, während die Tempel selbst weitgehend unangetastet blieben. Im Vergleich zu den großartigen Tempelbauten sind diese Kirchen freilich von beschämender Kleinheit und Nachlässigkeit der Bauausführung. Darüber hinaus handelt es sich bei all diesen Beispielen (mit Ausnahme des Isistempels auf Philae) um Einbauten in seit längerer Zeit nicht mehr in Funktion befindlichen Tempeln, so daß sich mit diesen Maßnahmen kein Akt der Überwindung des Heidentums demonstrieren ließ. Vermutlich war letzteres auch gar nicht beabsichtigt. Jedenfalls dachte die Kirche in der Frage der Errichtung von Kirchenbauten wesentlich pragmatischer als allgemein angenommen wird. Demonstrationen des Triumphes über das Heidentum erfolgten hingegen auf andere Weise, indem man durch Raub oder Verhöhnung der Kultbilder, bzw. auch

[85] Jacquet 1991; Grossmann 1995, 192–193, Abb. 3.
[86] Grossmann 2002a, 455–457, Abb. 73.

durch symbolisch zu verstehende Beschädigung einiger Partien der Tempelbauten eine gewaltsame Entweihung und Außerfunktionssetzung der Tempel bewirkte.

Wieder anders wirkte sich die Inbesitznahme der Tempel durch die sich in ihren Arealen einnistenden frühchristlichen Mönchskongregationen aus. Grundsätzlich benötigten sie außer für ihre Kirchen auch allerlei Platz für mehrere, unterschiedlichen Bestimmungen dienende Nebengebäude. Darüber hinaus ist festzuhalten, daß der archäologische Befund dieser monastischen Niederlassungen in aufgelassenen Tempelgebäuden und Gräbern nicht den Eindruck vermittelt, als ob die Mönche hier eingezogen wären, um sich im Kampf mit den dort hausenden Dämonen zu bewähren, wie das einige Mönchsanekdoten zu suggerieren scheinen.[87] Das mag nur in Ausnahmefällen gegolten haben. Normalerweise scheint überall das Hauptmotiv darin bestanden zu haben, daß in diesen Tempeln überdachte Räume zu finden waren, die die Mönche der Aufgabe enthoben, sich solche selbst zu erstellen, was ja bekanntlich nicht jedermanns Sache ist.[88] Dasselbe gilt für die mehrfach auch archäologisch belegte Niederlassung in Grabbauten,[89] Felsgräbern und alten Steinbrüchen (Dayr al-Quayr, Dayr al-Balā'iza).

In Karnak, der großen thebanischen Tempelanlage, wo sich mehrere klösterliche Niederlassungen nachweisen und teilweise auch lokalisieren lassen,[90] hat man von den durch die Mönche geschaffenen baulichen Strukturen bisher nur eine unvollkommene Vorstellung. Hier besteht also noch eine wichtige Forschungsaufgabe. Sonst haben sich diese Mönche nur wenig an den heidnischen Baulichkeiten vergriffen. Sie versuchten vielmehr, sich in und zwischen diesen einzurichten. Offensichtlich waren ihnen ganz einfach die vorhandenen baulichen Strukturen der pharaonischen Tempelanlagen zu groß. Eine Rolle spielte wohl auch, daß die Mönche nur selten professionelle Bauhandwerker engagierten, die zu entsprechenden Umstrukturierungen in der Lage gewesen wären.

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[87] Athan. *v. Ant*. 8,12; *Apophth. Patr.* 265; 466.

[88] Pall. *h. Laus*. 2 berichtet von einem Mönch Dorotheos, der in seinem früheren Leben den Beruf eines Maurers ausgeübt hatte und als Mönch in der sog. ἐρημικά fünf Meilen von der Stadt (Hermopolis Parva?) entfernt, für viele andere die Zellen baute. Auch die auffällige typologische Übereinstimmung der *monasteria* in den Kellia ist nur damit zu erklären, daß beim Bau eines neuen Kellions erfahrene Mönche mit Hand anlegten.

[89] *Apophth. Patr*. 466.

[90] Zu den im Tempelbezirk von Karnak enthaltenen kirchlichen Einbauten s. Munier – Pillet 1929, 58–88; sowie Coquin 1972, 169–178.

Die in der hagiographischen Literatur gelegentlich unter den Mönchen erwähnten Maurer[91] dürften von ihrem handwerklichen Kenntnisstand her einfache Dorfhandwerker gewesen sein, die größere Umbauten nicht auszuführen vermochten. Eine Ausnahme ist Schenute von Atripe, der—wie das auch in den Quellen überliefert ist—gegen Lohnzahlung in größerer Zahl professionelle Bauhandwerker eingestellt hat,[92] denn sonst wäre die Ausführung seines Kirchenbaus nicht möglich gewesen. Sonst sind in der Regel die von den Mönchen erstellten Einbauten in den *temenoi* der heidnischen Tempelkomplexe nur aus luftgetrockneten Schlammziegeln oder kleinteiligem Bruchsteinmaterial errichtet worden. Größere Flächen beanspruchten zumeist nur die Kirche und das Refektorium. Alles übrige wie die Unterkunftsräume der Mönche—wenn man auf eine geschlossene Bauweise verzichtete—sowie Vorrats- und Werkräume, wie sie in allen Klöstern enthalten sind, wurde dort angelegt, wo Platz war.

Charakteristisch ist das bereits erwähnte Beispiel des Klosters im *temenos* des spätptolemäischen Tempels der Triphis in Atripe.[93] Der heute nur noch als großenteils abgetragene Ruine bestehende Tempel wurde nicht von den sich hier einnistenden Mönchen zerstört. Was an seiner Bausubstanz fehlt, war schon vorher durch Schenute abgetragen worden, der entsprechendes Baumaterial für seinen etwas entfernter gelegenen Kirchenbau benötigte. Die Kirche des im Tempel der Triphis gelegenen Klosters, eine einfache Basilika mit aus Brandziegeln erstellten Pfeilern und Westumgang, lag vor der südlichen Eingangsseite des Tempels, das zweischiffige Refektorium auf der Ostseite. Beide gehören übrigens zur spätesten klösterlichen Nutzungsphase des Komplexes und machen von Strukturen Gebrauch, die die Existenz des Tempels gewissermaßen noch voraussetzen. Sie bestehen aus gepflasterten Höfen auf der Süd-, Ost- und Westseite des Tempels und einer Pfeilerportikus auf der Ostseite. Die Pfeiler der Kirche hatte man einfach auf das Paviment

[91] Belege bei Pall. *h. Laus*. 2,32.

[92] Wipszycka 1986, 125 mit Belegen; daß der Bau in nur fünf oder sechs Monaten vollendet werden konnte, wie in von S. Emmel herangezogenen Texten (s. Emmel 1998, 83) sowie in einer entsprechenden Aussage in der arabischen (nicht in der koptischen) *vita* des Schenute (ed. Amélineau 1888–1895, 354) behauptet wird, halte ich für äußerst unwahrscheinlich bzw. technisch nahezu unmöglich. Hier sollte das Alter der betreffenden Texte geprüft werden und es ist zu fragen, ob nicht im Lauf der Zeit in immer neuen Abschriften eine zunehmende inhaltliche „Bereicherung" der textlichen Aussagen erfolgt ist.

[93] el-Masry 2001, 211–212, Abb. 4; zum Tempel selbst s. el-Masry 2001, 205–211.

des Südhofes gestellt; sie sind durch ihr Gewicht entsprechend eingesunken. Zahlreiche später angelegte Wannen unterschiedlicher Größe und Form sowie ein Brunnen (Zisterne?), die zu den Betriebseinrichtungen (vermutlich einer Stoffärberei) für den Gelderwerb der Mönche gehörten, sind mehr oder weniger günstig auf die verschiedenen Tempelräume verteilt (Abb. 8). Nirgends hat man den Eindruck, daß zur zweckmäßigeren Verteilung dieser Betriebseinrichtungen irgendwelche Veränderungen an dem noch vorhandenen Baubestand des Tempels durchgeführt worden wären. Alles wurde so übernommen, wie man es vorgefunden hatte.

In Dayr al-Madīna, der Klosteranlage in dem Bezirk des kleinen ptolemäischen Hathortempels von Theben-West, haben sich bis zum Beginn der wissenschaftlichen Erforschung nur wenige Reste der monastischen Einbauten erhalten. Erkennbar ist die in der Hypostylhalle des Tempels eingerichtete Kirche.[94] Für ein *parekklesion* hatten die Mönche das bereits vorher teilweise zerstörte, südlich angrenzende Mammisi mit ungebrannten Lehmziegeln wieder aufgebaut und für ihre Zwecke entsprechend hergerichtet.[95]

In dem einst im Millionenjahrhaus der Königin Hatschepsut (18. Dyn.) eingerichteten Phoibammon-Kloster von Dayr al-Baarī sind im letzten Jahrzehnt des 19. Jhs. im Zuge der Erforschung des pharaonischen Bestandes durch die Egypt Exploration Society überhaupt alle koptischen Einbauten abgetragen worden. Nur auf der Grundlage älterer Reiseskizzen läßt sich ein ungefähres Bild der Anlage dieses Klosters gewinnen.[96] Allenthalben feststellbare Kreuze und koptische Graffiti lassen erkennen, daß auch hier zahlreiche unterschiedliche Räume von den Mönchen für ihre Zwecke neu benutzt wurden. Die Kirche des Klosters scheint in der mit einer originalen Wölbung versehenen sogenannten „Chapelle de Hatchepsout“ untergebracht gewesen zu sein.[97] Daß dabei das von Schranken umgebene Presbyterium der Kirche an das Westende des Raumes geriet, nahm man in Kauf. Ohnehin sind im Gebiet von Theben, wo das Niltal eine große

[94] Bruyère 1948, 42–50, 109–112, bes. 43–44, Plan 1 und 6.
[95] Bruyère 1948, 43.
[96] Godlewski 1986, 21–46, Taf. 1 (mit allerdings verfehltem Maßstab, dessen Länge nicht—wie angegeben—5,00 m, sondern 10,00 m entspricht).
[97] Godlewski 1986, 33–38, Abb. 16, Taf. 1 (mit fehlerhaftem Maßstab, aber hypothetischer Ergänzung der in christlicher Zeit eingefügten *cancelli* [S. 16] am Westende des Raumes).

Schleife beschreibt, alle kirchlichen Bauten erheblich aus der östlichen Sollrichtung herausgedreht.[98]

Beträchtlich mehr hatte sich in einem kleinen Klosterkomplex im *temenos* des Tempels von Nektanebo II. (360–343 v. Chr.) in Saqqāra Nord erhalten,[99] wo man sich die pharaonische Umfassungsmauer zunutze gemacht hatte. Das Innere ist durch eine breite, nordsüdlich geführte Straße in zwei Bereiche unterteilt. Eine kleine einschiffige Kirche befindet sich in der Nordostecke.[100] Zu ihr gehört ein auf der Südseite angefügtes lang gestrecktes *parekklesion* mit Resten einer breiten Apsis. Es scheint sich hierbei um eine Vorgängersiedlung des weiter im Süden gelegenen Jeremiasklosters zu handeln, die um die Wende vom 6. zum 7. Jahrhundert aufgegeben wurde.

Zur Übernahme der noch aufrecht stehenden Tempelgebäude für kirchliche Funktionen mußten—wenn man das wollte—die überall an den Wänden enthaltenen heidnischen Dekorationen entfernt werden. Die Mühewaltung, die von christlicher Seite dafür aufgewandt wurde, war sehr unterschiedlich. In der Regel hat man nur die Götter- und Pharaonenbilder ausgehackt, häufig auch nur deren nackte Körperteile. Darüber hinaus wurde mit der Abarbeitung dieser Darstellungen grundsätzlich erst begonnen, wenn die Erstellung der christlichen Einbauten zum Abschluß gekommen war. Alles was durch diese Einbauten verdeckt war, blieb somit erhalten, was für die Rekonstruktion der bedauerlicherweise oft ohne eigene Dokumentation abgenommenen koptischen Einbauten für uns heute von erheblichem Nutzen ist. So ließ sich beispielsweise die Stephanskirche im Isistempel von Philae ziemlich sicher rekonstruieren (Abb. 4).[101] Nicht selten hat man die betreffenden Wandpartien aber auch einfach nur verputzt. In der Stephanskirche im Isis-Tempel von Philae liegt die obere Begrenzung der Abarbeitung bei etwa 1,80 m oberhalb des Fußbodens. Alles darüber folgende blieb unangetastet. Man hat für diese Abarbeitungen also keine Leiter benutzt.

Sehr wichtig scheint den Christen hingegen die überall zu beobachtende Anbringung von Kreuzen gewesen zu sein. Im Isis-Tempel von

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[98] Grossmann 2002a, 13–15.

[99] Emery 1969, 34, Taf. 9,1; 11; sowie Emery 1970, 5, Taf. 2.

[100] Gesamtplan mit Kennzeichnung der koptischen Einbauten in Emery 1971, Taf. 1 (ohne Erläuterung im Text). Heute ist dort freilich nur noch der blanke Fels zu sehen. Auf der Suche nach älteren pharaonischen Resten wurden Kirche und Kapelle bis auf den letzten Ziegel abgerissen.

[101] Grossmann 1987, 107–117, Abb. 1.

Philae sind in alle Türpfosten, auch in diejenigen, die zu Türen nicht genutzter, vermauerter Nebenräume gehörten, Kreuze eingeritzt. Offensichtlich hatten sie vor allen eine apotropäische Bedeutung und waren damit Maßnahmen zur Abwendung von Dämonen.[102] Aus demselben Grunde hat man auch in vielen Privathäusern die Eingangsschwellen mit Kreuzen versehen oder wurden aus heidnischen Gebäuden entnommene Bauglieder durch Anbringung von Kreuzen nachträglich sanktioniert.

Zur Ersetzung oder Umwandlung von heidnischen Kultstätten durch vergleichbare christlich verstandene Neuanlagen—gewissermaßen als monumentale Varianten zur Verlegung des Festes der Geburt Christi auf den 25. Dezember gegen den von Aurelian (270–275) eingeführten Reichsfeiertag des *dies natalis Solis invicti*, oder die Umwandlung der alten Feier der *Cara cognitio* am 22. Februar im Rahmen der familiären Totengedenkfeiern zu einem Feiertag des Petrus (*natale Petri de cathedra*)[103]—gibt es in Ägypten nur wenige Beispiele. In Frage kommt eigentlich nur das bereits oben erwähnte, von dem Patriarchen Kyrillos (412–444) als christliches Konkurrenzunternehmen gegründete Heilungszentrum der Hll. Kyros und Johannes in der von Theophilos östlich des ehemaligen Sarapistempels von Kanopos errichteten Kirche der Evangelisten, das nach dem Bericht des Sophronios dem heidnischen Heilungszentrum der *Isis Medica* in Menuthis alsbald heftige Konkurrenz machte. Es lockte auch Heiden an, die dann, wenn sie geheilt wurden, zum Christentum übertraten. Bemerkenswerterweise hat Kyrillos das Isieion von Menuthis nicht zerstört. Offensichtlich war trotz der kaiserlichen Verbote die heidnische Opposition zu stark, und Kyrillos verspürte keine Neigung, sich auf Abenteuer einzulassen, wie sie sein Onkel und Vorgänger Theophilos zwei Jahrzehnte vorher in Alexandreia erlebt hatte. Auch dieser hatte das Isieion in Menuthis nicht angetastet.

Sonst könnte im Sinne der Ersetzung heidnischer Kultanlagen durch christliche Neugründungen allenfalls an einige in Kirchen umgewandelte städtische Haupttempel gedacht werden, doch lassen sich kaum Beispiele anführen. Die dafür in Frage kommenden Städteanlagen sind nicht erforscht oder nicht erforschbar, da sie durch moderne Siedlungen überlagert werden. Herausragende Ausnahmen wie die Umwandlung des Caesareums von Alexandreia in die auch später noch „Kaisareion"

[102] Engemann 1975, 43–48 sowie Dinkler 1995 (bes. 93ff.).
[103] Siehe Jastrzebowska 1981, 198; dort auch andere Beispiele.

genannte Kirche[104] und die Umwandlung des alexandrinischen Sarapistempels in die Arcadiuskirche[105] sind nur aus der Literatur bekannt. In Antinoopolis z. B., wo ausnahmsweise praktisch die gesamte antike Stadt zur archäologischen Erschließung bereit liegt, ist allerdings bisher auf diese Möglichkeit verzichtet worden. Hier wird nur in den Friedhöfen und Müllhalden außerhalb der Stadt herumgegraben, um Objekte und Papyri zu finden. Ähnliches gilt für das antike Eileithyiáspolis, das heutige al-Kāb, wo über den Einbau einer Kirche in den Tempel nur eine kurze Notiz des Jahres 1968 in einen allgemeinen Fundbericht von Jean Leclant Eingang fand,[106] von den Ausgräbern selbst jedoch bisher keine gedruckte Mitteilung vorliegt.

Andererseits ist die Ersetzung heidnischer Kulteinrichtungen durch ähnlich geartete christliche Zentren nur in der Frühzeit von einer gewissen Relevanz, als die heidnischen Heiligtümer noch von einer lebendigen Schar von Gläubigen frequentiert wurden. Nachdem sich das Christentum durchgesetzt hatte, brauchten derartige Maßnahmen nicht mehr getroffen zu werden. In dieser Hinsicht ist daher m. E. die Einrichtung einer Stephanskirche im Isis-Tempel von Philae nur bedingt als Verdrängung einer heidnischen Kultanlage zu bewerten. Auf der Insel Philae gab es längst einen Bischof und mehrere Kirchen, so daß kaum damit zu rechnen ist, daß auf der Insel noch viele Heiden wohnten. Vermutlich waren es nur die heidnischen Priester und ihre Familien,[107] die erst von Narses vertrieben wurde.[108] Anhänger des Isiskultes, auf die die Umwandlung des Tempels als Signal wirken sollte, dürfte es allenfalls in den umliegenden Dörfern gegeben haben.

Hingewiesen werden muß in diesem Zusammenhang ferner darauf, daß in Ägypten zahlreiche heidnische Tempelanlagen bereits Jahrhunderte vor der Christianisierung ihren Betrieb eingestellt hatten und nicht mehr benutzt wurden. Sie haben daher als religiöse Fixpunkte des Heidentums keine Rolle mehr gespielt, so daß sich die Errichtung von christlichen Oppositionszentren erübrigte.

Auch daß man in den Militärlagern statt der früher üblichen Tempel der kapitolinischen Göttertrias oder der späteren Kaiserkultkapellen

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[104] Martin 1984, 217–218.
[105] Rufin. *hist.* 7,15.
[106] Leclant 1968, 115; dieser Bau dürfte insofern von besonderem Interesse sein, als es sich auf Grund der Besiedlungszeit dieses Ortes um einen Bau des 4. Jh.s handelt.
[107] Siehe hierzu Burckhardt 1984, 77–83.
[108] Proc. *Pers.* 1,1,37.

jetzt Kirchen errichtete, hat vermutlich nichts mit der Verdrängung altgläubiger Götterkulte zu tun. Sie kamen dem Bedürfnis nach, den christlich gewordenen Soldaten Gelegenheit zum Besuch der Liturgie zu geben. Nicht einmal die Zerstörung der alten Einrichtungen ist überliefert. Jedenfalls blieb die Kaiserkultkapelle in dem von Diocletian im Ammontempel von Luqṣur eingerichteten Zweilegionenlager unversehrt. Getilgt wurde in der Apsis nur das Bild des Maximian, der jedoch noch in heidnischer Zeit der *damnatio memoriae* verfallen war. Das Bild des Diocletian blieb hingegen unangetastet.[109] Nicht einmal Hinweise auf eine Übertünchung sind zu erkennen.

Es scheint jedoch so, daß die frühere Gewohnheit, die Kriegskasse der Truppe und der Ersparnisse der Legionäre dem Schutz der Götter anzuvertrauen und in einem Gemach unter den Lagertempeln zu verwahren, von den Kirchen übernommen wurde. Einige der bekannten Lagerkirchen sind mit zusätzlichen Räumen ausgestattet, die es sonst im ägyptischen Kirchenbau nicht gibt. So weist die einschiffige Kirche in dem später von einer Truppeneinheit übernommenen Tempelbezirk von Taphosiris Magna hinter der Apsis einen kleinen Raum auf, der sich gut für derartige Zwecke eignete.[110] Die Kirche in dem justinianischen *castrum* von Raithu im Südsinai hat rechts neben der Apsis einen mit ungewöhnlich starken Wänden ausgestatteten Nebenraum, der ebenfalls für einen derartigen Zweck bestimmt gewesen sein könnte.[111] Später wurde hier sogar ein mit zahlreichen kleinen Nischen ausgestatteter Archivraum angefügt.

In den gleichen Zusammenhang gehört, daß im Jahr 324 unter Constantin die ehemals im Sarapeion von Alexandreia verwahrte Nilelle nach Ausführung der Messung nicht mehr dorthin zurückgebracht, sondern in einer Kirche, vermutlich der in dem ehemaligen Tempel des Kronos-Saturn eingerichteten Michaeliskirche deponiert wurde,[112] zumal auch anderenorts der Hl. Michael den Affengott Hermes-Thot als Patron der Überschwemmungen ersetzte.[113] Julian stellte zwar den alten Brauch wieder her, doch wurde das nach seinem Tode rückgängig gemacht.

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[109] Deckers 1979, 640–644, Abb. 27a–30, bes. 29.
[110] Grossmann 2002a, 382–383, Abb. 3.
[111] Grossmann 2002a, 360, Abb. 188.
[112] Martin 1996, 149–151.
[113] Martin 1998, 13; Heinen 1998, 78.

Auch daß man in christlicher Zeit zur Erinnerung an die große Verfolgung unter Diocletian nach der sogenannten *aera Martyrum* datierte, ist keine Maßnahme, die im Sinne einer Auseinandersetzung mit dem Heidentum zu verstehen ist. Man hatte in Ägypten einfach die früher übliche Zählung nach den Amtsjahren der Kaiser beibehalten statt der umständlichen, unter diesem Kaiser eingeführten Zählung nach *indictiones*, und benannte sie damit folgerichtig als *aera Diocletiana*. Heute erleben wir ein ähnliches Phänomen, indem trotz der längst erfolgten offiziellen Einführung des Euro und obwohl die früheren Währungen überhaupt nicht mehr im Umlauf sind, alle Welt noch nach den alten Währungen rechnet. Erst Jahrhunderte später, als die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Heidentum längst alle Aktualität verloren hatte, wurde diese Bezeichnung in *aera Martyrem* umbenannt.

Von gewisser Relevanz ist ferner, wie und als was die große Kirche im Schenutekloster bei Atripe, die bedeutendste Klosterkirche Ägyptens, zu verstehen ist. Man hat den Bau als monumentalen Beweis dafür aufgefaßt, daß auch unter christlichem Vorzeichen große, den Göttertempeln vergleichbare Bauten geschaffen werden konnten;[114] eine Auffassung, von der man allmählich abzukommen beginnt, denn große Kirchen gab es in Ägypten genug. Mehrere auf uns gekommene Kirchen gehören zu den größten Kirchen des Vorderen Orients und werden erst von Bauten in Heliopolis (Baalbek) und Karthago übertroffen. Schenute suchte nicht den Vergleich mit den Tempelbauten, um Gleichwertiges zu schaffen oder diese gar zu übertrumpfen. Als dem Vorsteher einer riesigen Mönchsgemeinde gehörte es zur Befriedigung seines Ehrgeizes, auch einen entsprechend großen Kirchenbau zu errichten.

Darüber hinaus hat man gesagt, daß auch die Verwendung von Spolien aus heidnischen Bauten als eine Demonstration der Überwindung des Heidentums zu gelten habe, eine Auffassung, die wir ebenfalls nicht teilen mögen. Solches hätte allenfalls im Rahmen bestimmter Missionierungsabsichten eine Bedeutung gehabt wie z. B. dem Fällen heiliger Bäume bei der Missionierung der Germanenvölker in Europa und der Verwendung ihres Holzes für die stattdessen zu errichtenden Kirchen. Berühmtestes Beispiel ist das Fällen der Donareiche bei Geismar durch Bonifatius im Jahr 723 n. Chr., aus deren Holz die erste

[114] Deichmann 1938, 36–37; wieder abgedruckt in Deichmann 1982, 805–808, bes. 807–808.

Peterskirche im Kloster von Fritzlar erbaut wurde.[115] Zudem handelt es sich bei der Spolienverwendung um ein zweischneidiges Argument, denn zu leicht entlarvt sie sich als Billigbauweise.[116] Und in der ausschließlichen Verwendung von hohen kaiserzeitlichen Säulenschäften offenbart sich zugleich das Unvermögen der damaligen Zeit, derartige Säulen selbst herzustellen. Sicher war ein derartiger Eindruck nicht beabsichtigt. Schenute hat wenigstens alles getan, was er konnte, um die Verwendung heidnischen Spolienmaterials in seiner Kirche so weit wie möglich zu vertuschen.

Nachtrag

Die Bemerkung, bei Anm. 68 und 93, daß "die große Kirche des Schenuteklosters bei Atripe komplett aus dem Hausteinmaterial des spätptolemäischen Tempels der Triphis, der Göttin des Horusauges (äg. Repyt) von Atripe errichtet worden zu sein scheine", kann nicht mehr aufrecht erhalten werden. Neuere Forschungen am Ort ergaben, daß sich in und um diesen Tempel das zeitgenössische, dem Verband der Schenuteklöster zugehörige Nonnenkloster ausgebreitet hat. Wie besonders auf der Seite des Refektoriums (Ostseite des Tempels) zu erkennen ist, setzt dieses den nahezu vollständigen Bestand des Tempels noch voraus. Der Tempel kann also erst nach Aufgabe dieses Klosters abgetragen worden sein, wofür allenfalls ein Zeitraum nach der arabischen Eroberung in Frage kommt. Das Pflaster des südlichen Vorhofs, auf das später ohne eigene Fundamente die Kirche des Klosters gestellt wurde, ist hingegen zu den Baumaßnahmen zu zählen, die anläßlich der vorübergehenden Nutzung des Tempels als Residenz des Kaisers Diocletian im Jahre 297/298 durchgeführt wurden.[117] Die für den Bau der Kirche dieses Schenuteklosters abgetragenen pharaonischen Bauten dürften in geringerer Entfernung des Klosters gestanden haben. Vermutlich gehören dazu auch die Reste einer hochkaiserzeitlichen Badeanlage, die nahe dem südlichen Haupttor der Kirche angetroffen wurden.

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[115] Padberg 1998, 84 mit Übersetzung eines diesbezüglichen Quellentextes aus der *vita* des Bonifatius, Kap. 6 von Willibald (Padberg 1998, 244–245).

[116] Hinweis auf diesen Tatbestand bereits bei Leipoldt 1903, 93.

[117] Skeat 1964, 34/35 und 123 [= Pap. 1 col. X 259–260].

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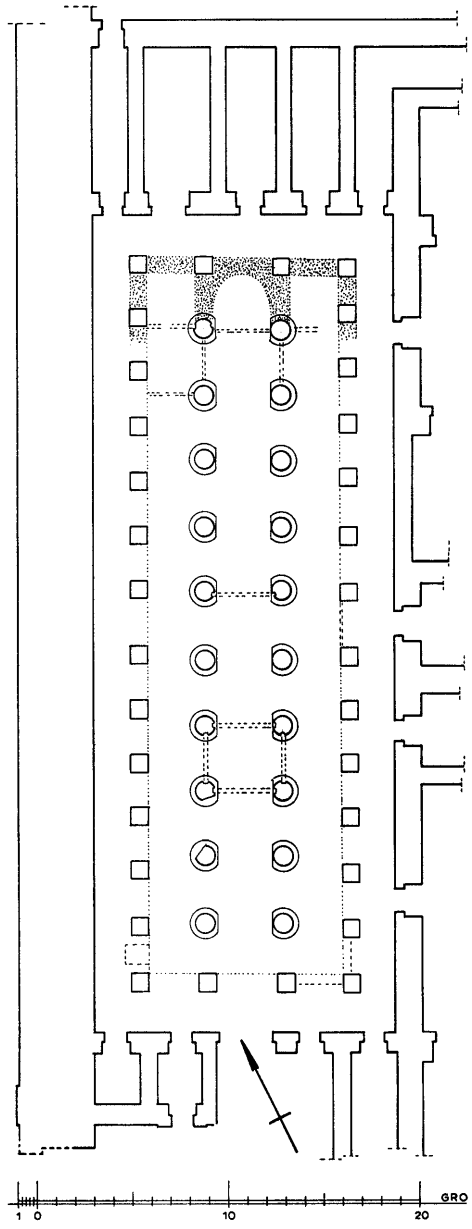


Abb. 1: Kirche in der sog. Festhalle Thutmosis III. (18. Dyn.) in Karnak.

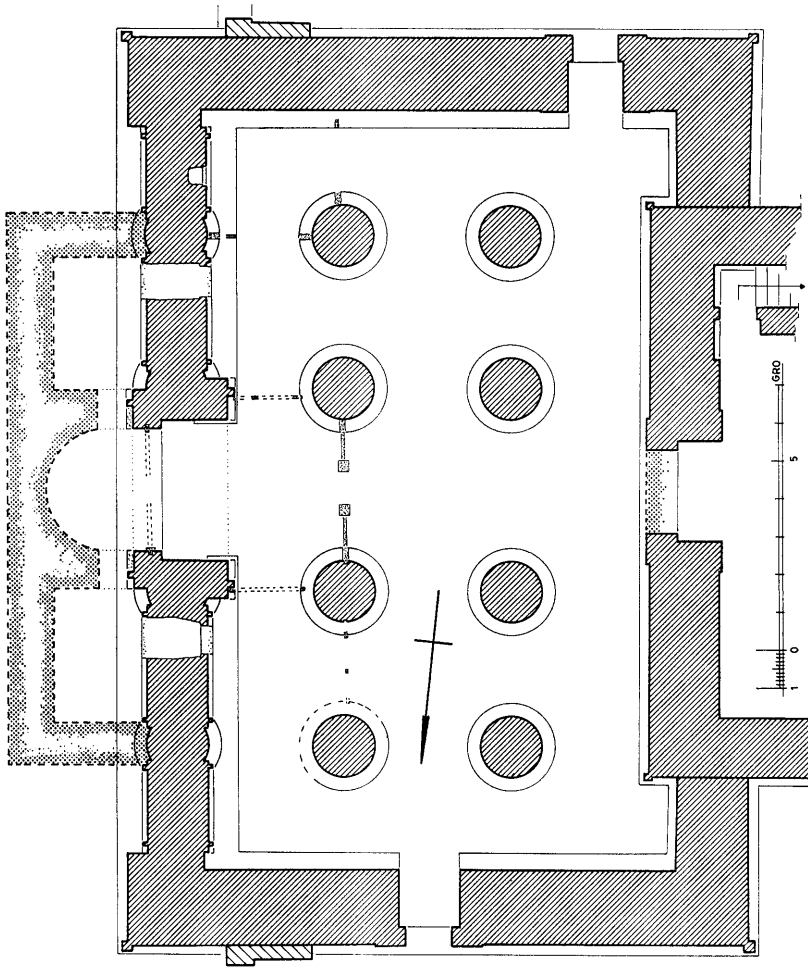


Abb. 2: Kirche im Tempel des Mandulis von Kalabša.

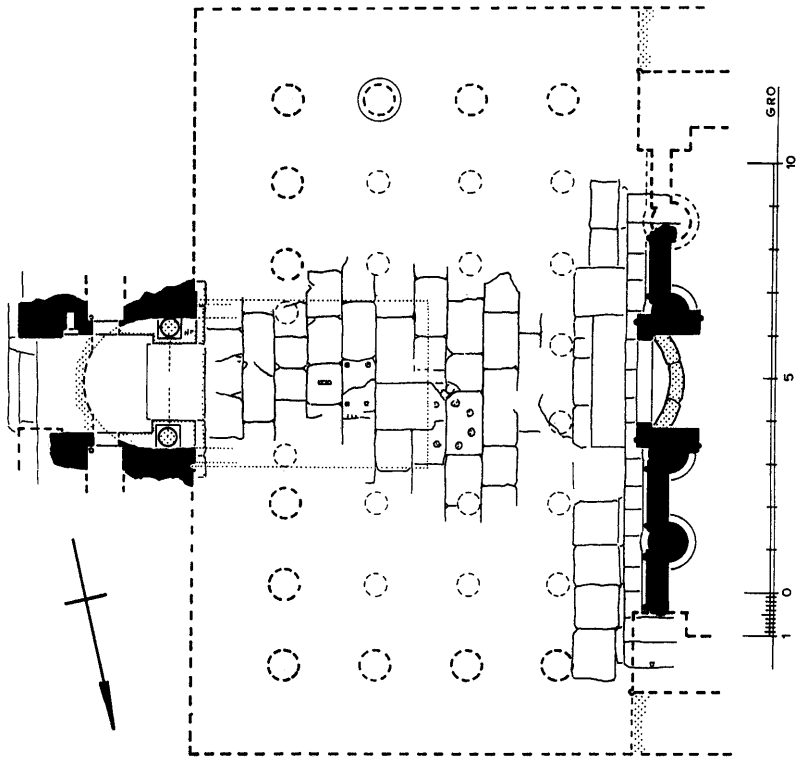


Abb. 3: Kirche im Vorhof des Tempels von Bīğa.

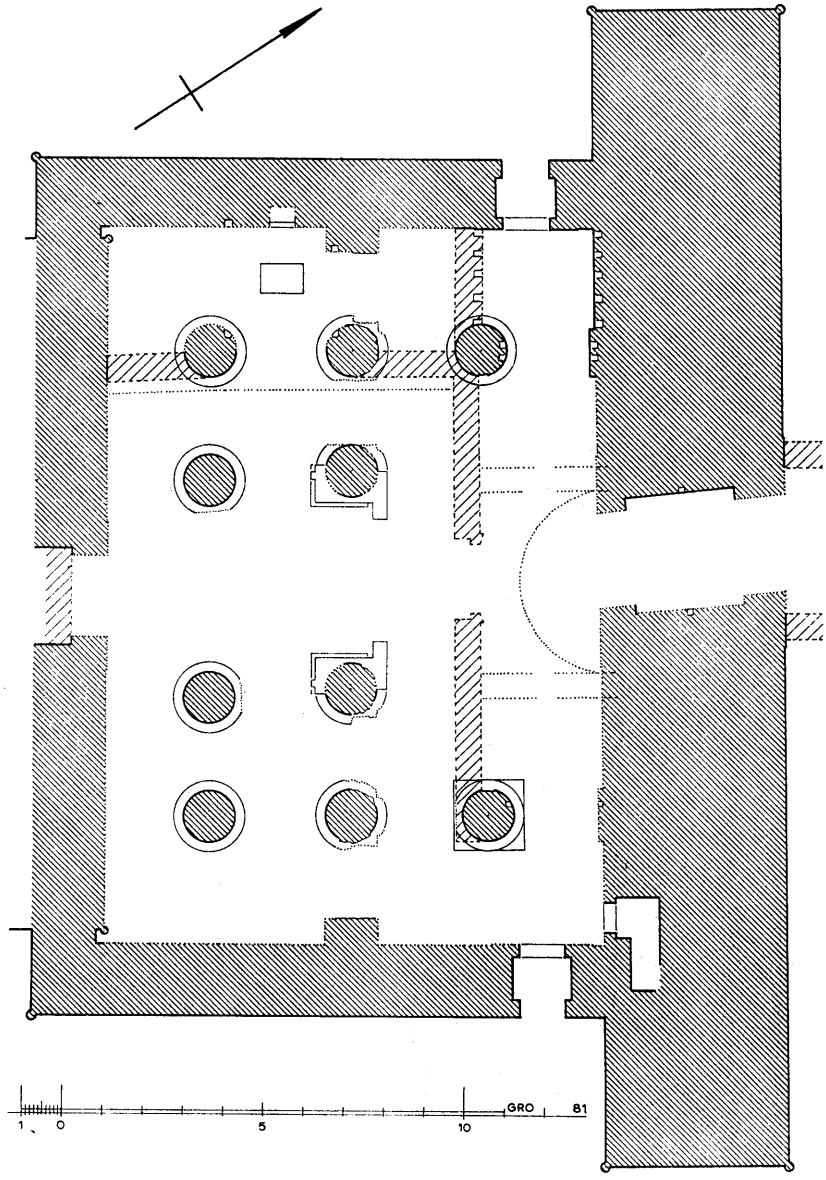


Abb. 4: Stephanoskirche im Isistempel von Philae.

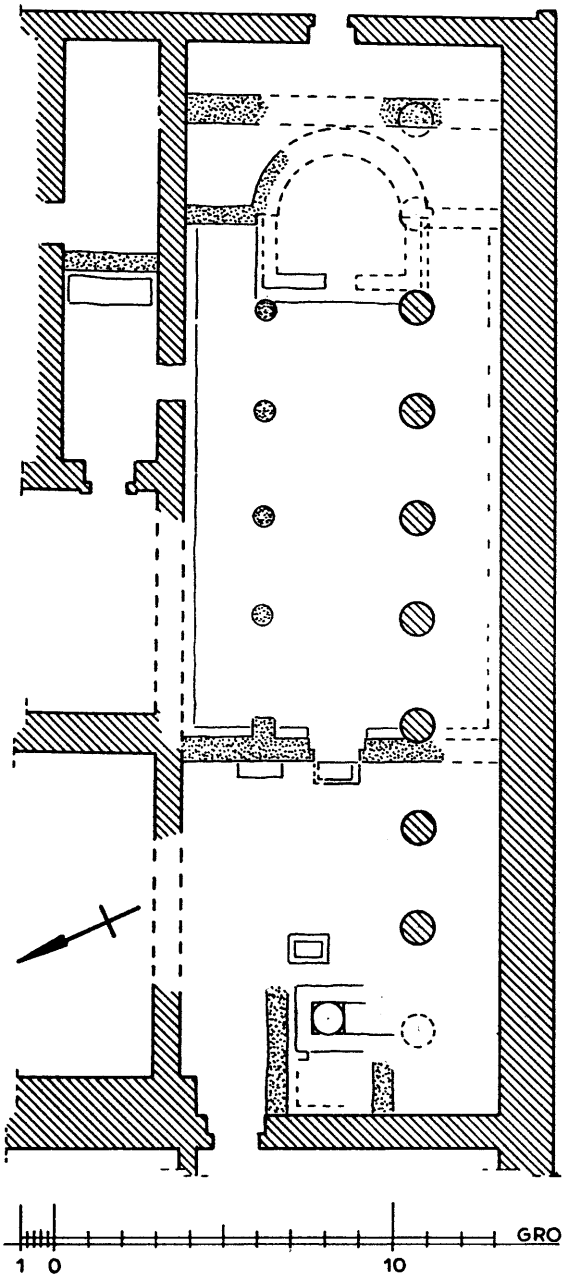


Abb. 5: Month-Tempel von Petemout (heute Madāmūd).

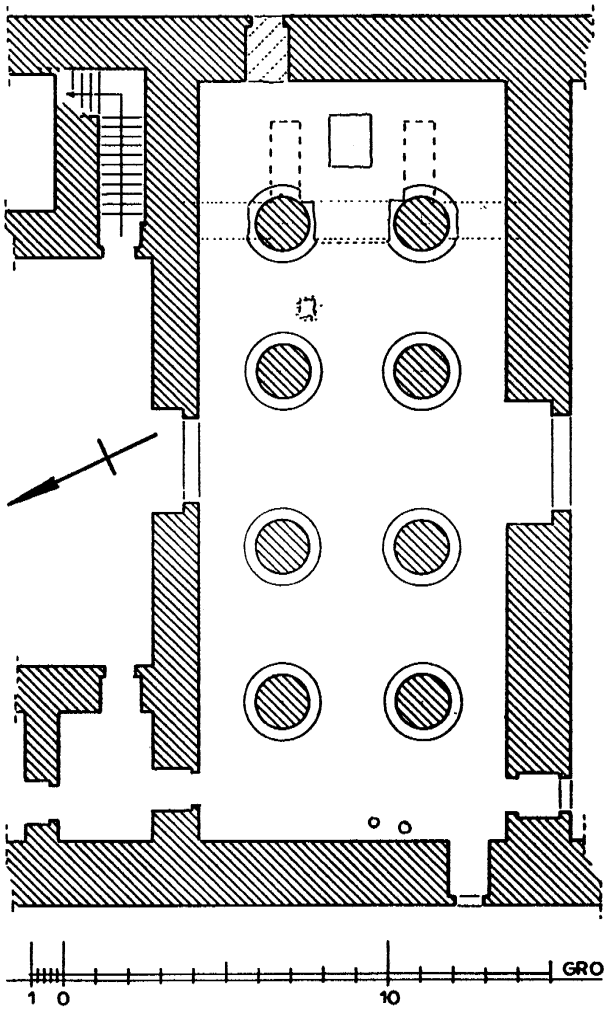


Abb. 6: Kirche in der Hypostylhalle des Chonstempels von Karnak.

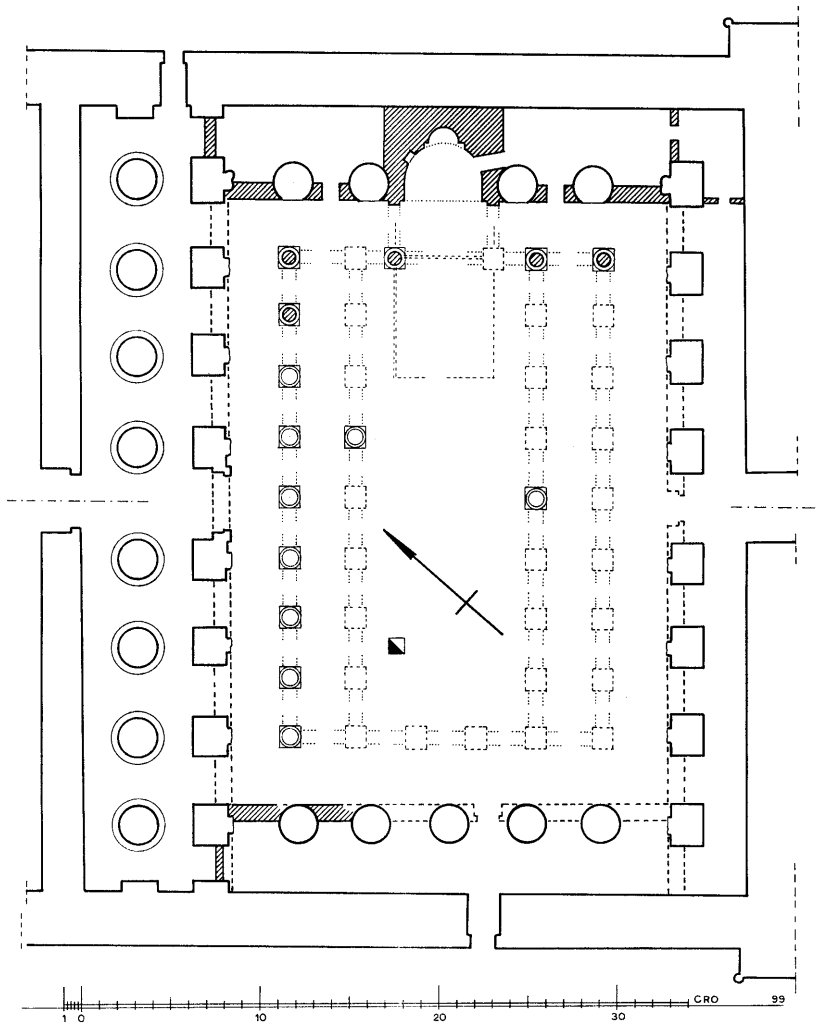
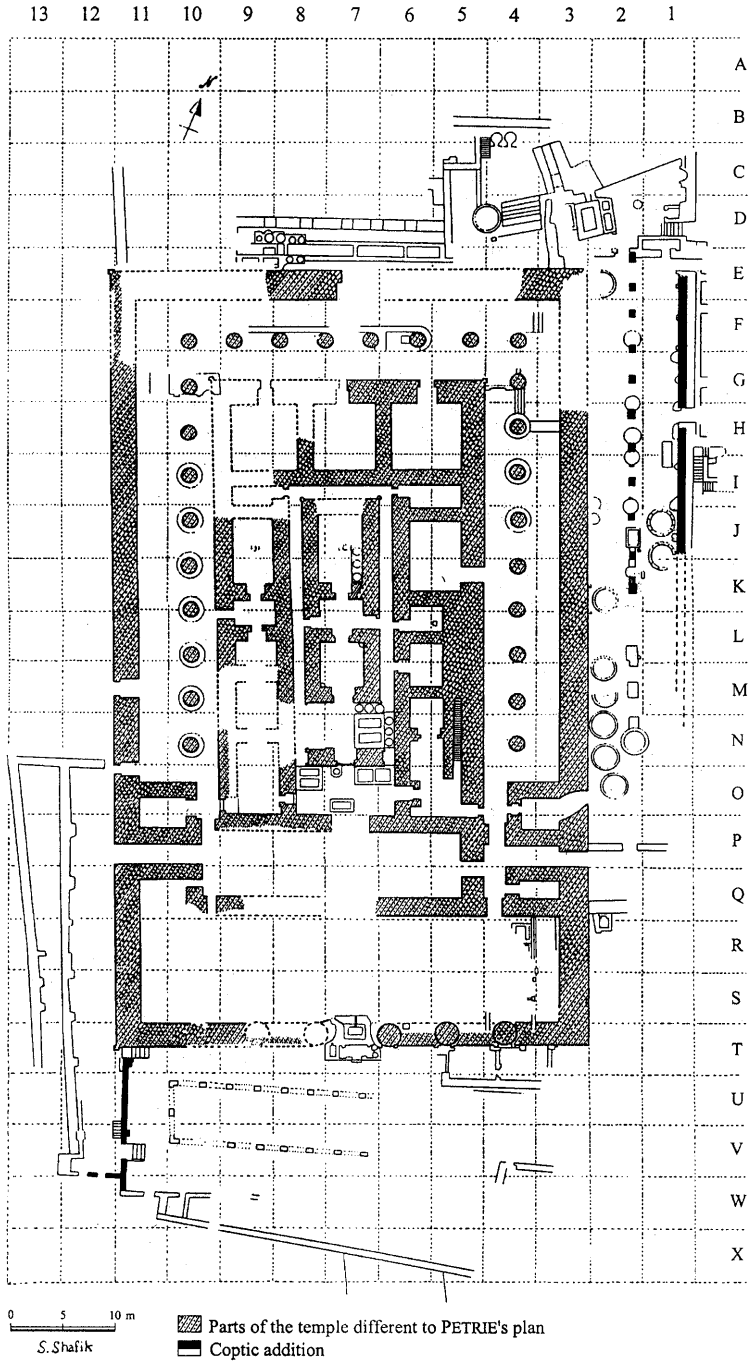


Abb. 7: Kirche im zweiten Vorhof des Millionenjahrhauses Ramses' III. in Kastron Memnonion (Madīnat Hābū).


13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
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S. Shafik
Parts of the temple different to PETRIE's plan
Coptic addition

Abb. 8: Kirche und Klostergebäude im Tempel der Triphis von Atripe.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE CONVERSION OF THE CULT STATUES: THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SERAPEUM 392 A.D. AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF ALEXANDRIA INTO THE "CHRIST-LOVING" CITY*

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I

In the year 360 A.D. or just before, a Levantine merchant arrived in the metropolis of Egypt, Alexandria. The well travelled man, who was most interested in exploring prospects for trade, noticed immediately which goods were in superabundant supply in the markets: specialities of every sort, countless varieties of fish, paper, special scents, and much more. Even more fascinating for him was quite another observation. He wrote: "The gods are honored here in an extraordinary manner; and here one also finds the temple of Serapis, one of the most unique and uncommon sights in the world. For nowhere else on earth can one find such a building, such a temple site, or such reverence for the gods."[1] A short time later he spoke of Alexandria and Egypt together: "Here one finds sacred sites of all types and temples where nothing is lacking. In fact there are temple guardians, priests, sacrifice observers, worshippers, and the best diviners in abundance.... Thus you will always find the altars radiant with sacrificial flames and filled with frankincense."[2]

* This article is based on a chapter (pp. 78ff.) of my monograph *Gewalt und religiöser Konflikt* (2004). I owe thanks to Stephen Emmel for his generous help with the English text.

[1] *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 34 (ed. Rougé): *Et dii coluntur eminenter et templum Serapis ibi est, unum et solum spectaculum novum in omni mundo: nusquam enim terra aut aedificium tale aut dispositio templi talis aut religio talis invenitur.*

[2] Ibid. 36: *Et sunt sacra omnia et templa omnibus ornata; aeditimi enim et sacerdotes et ministri et aruspices et adoratores et divini optimi abundant; et fit omnia ordine: aras itaque invenies semper igne splendentes et sacrificiorum et ture plenas, vittas simul et turibula plena aromatibus divinum odorem spirantia invenies.*

The author's assessment that in Alexandria the gods would be revered more than elsewhere should not be dismissed as irrelevant.[3]

Our anonymous witness, author of a trading geography of the Mediterranean, is certainly not a completely objective observer. He spoke not a word about the Christianity that was flourishing in Alexandria in these years, nor about its churches. Naturally he ignored the contemporary conflict between the Arians and the Nicenes (or Orthodox) and he had as little to say about bishop Athanasius, who ruled over the churches of Alexandria and Egypt for almost half a century. Rather, our author, of course a pagan,[4] confirmed two other things: first, the unbroken vitality of the pagan cults in Alexandria (and in Egypt); and second, the immense religious and architectural importance of the Serapeum in Alexandria, which was situated as a kind of Acropolis in the Rhakotis district in the southwestern section of the city.

Clearly, our author no longer considered the vitality of the pagan cults to be self-evident. In his homeland—perhaps Phoenicia or Syria—Christianity was actively supported by the emperors in Constantinople and already the dominant force. In fact, many pagan cults had long before lost their attractive power, and in many areas pagans had been forced onto the defensive. Alexandria, however, still was an exceptional location of pagan worship indeed. In this city there existed an unconstrained variety of pagan cults: gods of Greek, Egyptian, Oriental, and European origin were revered here, further cults were continually inaugurated, and syncretisms were taken up. At the same time, a strong Judaism also flourished here, as well as various Christian groups and other religious communities.

Our knowledge about pagan cults in the fourth century is actually shockingly incomplete, for the sources are desperately meager. But for Alexandria we possess an unusual piece of evidence: a register of buildings in the five city districts, which is found in a Syriac chronicle only, but which stems from about the middle of the fourth century A.D.[5]

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[3] Ibid. 35:…*deos colentes eminenter: nusquam enim deorum mysteria sic perficitur quomodo ibi ab antiquo et usque modo, et paene ipsa omni orbi terrarum tradidit deos colere.* See also 36: *ubi deos, uti praediximus, colentes bene historias maxime eis offerunt* (on the Egyptians in general). On this point Marasco 1996, 185ff. Note also Eun. *v. soph*. 6.10.8 (p. 37, Giangrande; p. 471, Boissonade).

[4] Rougé 1966, 30ff., 48ff. Marasco 1996 interprets the tract as a mirror of the contemporary religious policy of Emperor Constantius. For other aspects, see now Mittag 2006.

[5] Fraser 1951.

This register mentions the number of temples, shrines, and cult buildings in Alexandria: 308 in the city district Alpha, 110 in Beta, 855 in Gamma, 800 in Delta, and 405 in Epsilon. Thus we have almost 2,500 pagan religious sites in all.[6] These numbers illustrate the diversity of cult sites in Alexandria, but they say nothing about the concrete reality and vitality of the cults associated with them. These cults might actually already have been broken down, or they might have enjoyed a highpoint of activity already sometime in the past. Nonetheless, our anonymous author and, by the way, also numerous Christian sources are in broad agreement that an impressive pagan religious activity existed in the city.[7]

Still, of almost 2,500 temples, barely two dozen can be verified by name. Among these is the Serapeum in the Rhakotis, a few other Serapis shrines, the Isis temple, the Caesareum, etc.[8] It seems that there exists only one description at all of a cult activity in any Alexandrian pagan cult building during the fourth century A.D.[9] It is a bitter irony of historical transmission that one learns about Alexandria's temples of the fourth century only when it is a matter of their destruction.

II

The most important of all religious sites, as our anonymous author correctly reported, was the Serapeum—or more precisely, the Serapeum in Rhakotis. The historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who visited Alexandria before 392 A.D., ascribed a more elaborate splendour and

[6] The document gives a (wrong) total of 2,393 temples. Of course, we should not expect proper temples with temenos, annexes etc. in every case here. The number would comprise any kind of architecturally independent sacred shrine, public and private. See also FRASER 1951, 107, who notes that the Syriac text speaks in general terms of "temples". It may be added that shrines in the *suburbium* of Alexandria—as in city districts besides the five traditional ones—were not included in the register's calculation.

[7] For details, see HAHN 2004, 25ff.

[8] See CALDERINI 1935, 88ff. and HAAS 1997, 143ff.; particularly important for our knowledge of the religious topography of Alexandria is Strab. 17.1.8ff. and Amm. 22.16.7ff.; see also Ach. Tat. 5.1.

[9] Epiph. *haer*. 51.22.9ff. (p. 285f., Holl vol. 2) on a mysterious festival called Kikellia. The Cypriot bishop describes in remarkable detail a celebration in the Koreion—temple of Kore—in Alexandria. On the cult, and its history and connections, see the apparatus p. 285 in Holl's edition, MERKELBACH 1963, 36ff., and the excellent discussion of BOWERSOCK 1990, 22ff.

a greater impact on the observer only to the Capitol in Rome.[10] This Serapis, the main and polis god of Alexandria, had achieved particular popularity and Mediterranean prominence in Roman times.[11] Its influence as Sotêr, saviour and healer, its mysteries, and its henotheistic profile achieved a wide resonance. But it also forced this god, just as happened to Mithras, into threatening proximity with the Christian doctrine of salvation.

The destruction of the great Serapis shrine during the rule of Emperor Theodosius thus necessarily represented a signal. Christian and pagan contemporaries alike felt that this destruction was an event of epoch-making character with respect both to Christianity and to paganism. Hardly any other event of late antiquity—apart from the Visigoths' conquest of Rome in 410—found such an enormous echo in the contemporary sources. Prophecies, oracles, and visions began to circulate which claimed to have been uttered before the destruction of the Serapeum and to have foretold that event.[12] A feverish publicity arose from the event too, contesting its theological significance. For some, it symbolized the final triumph of the Christian God, of the Christian doctrine of salvation, and of the Christian Church. Others sought to find explanations for the incomprehensible disaster, hoping for religious support in a world of spiritual decline.[13]

Our narrative sources—and modern research too—confront the event from the same perspectives: the destruction of the Serapeum is regarded first and foremost as a symbol. However, symbols have no prehistory, they have no active or discernible protagonists, they are largely insulated from their time and context, they stand there isolated

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[10] Amm. 22.16.12.

[11] For the origin and religious profile of the cult, see Bell 1953, 19ff.; Vidman 1970, 10ff.; Fraser 1972, 1:252ff.; Hölbl 1984, 870f. Serapis Πολιεύς: *OGIS* 708; *SB* I 1555; *SB* IV 7473. Note the coin types of Tyche Poleos holding the bust of Serapis (Geissen 1974–1983, 3: nos. 2274, 2475, 2726, 2736–2738, 2869, 2873, 2878, 2897, 2900, 2903, 2998, 3003, 3007; 4: nos. 3069, 3210, 3243, 3276f., 3299f.) and of Serapis Agathodaimon, a snake with Serapis-head (ibid., 2: nos. 1720f. and 1932). Bell 1953, 20: "So much was he the god of Alexandria, where he absorbed the original patron deity, Agathos Daimôn, that an invocation of Serapis in a private letter can be taken as virtual proof that the letter was written in the city or by a citizen." See also Fraser 1972, 1:259 with n. 543. For its history and importance in the Roman empire see only Vidman 1970, 106ff. and Takács 1995.

[12] Nock 1949, Chadwick 1984, and Luck 1986 with evidence and discussion.

[13] Paradigmatic is the account of Rufinus in his ecclesiastical history; see Thelamon 1981, 245ff., Thelamon 1987, 48ff., and Dattrino 1987, 247ff. For the testimony of the pagan witness to the Alexandrian events of 392, Palladas, see below.

and erratic. As a result they demand the scrutiny not of historians but of exegetes. Thus our most detailed witnesses for the course and details of the destruction of the Serapeum—there are five of them[14]—reveal themselves largely as the latter, as exegetes. Rufinus (a contemporary), Socrates, Sozomenus, und Theodoretus (all of whom wrote a half-century later) are all Church historians in the tradition of Eusebius, that is, engaged chroniclers and interpreters of a historical plan marked by God's saving grace. Eunapius, by contrast—the only pagan and actual contemporary of this event—is, as a chronicler of the decline of late antique Hellenism, an author congenial to the aforementioned Church historians in many respects.

The following comments are intended to uncover historical problems, to explore connections, to identify driving forces behind the destruction of the Serapeum, and to examine consequences of this event with respect to its significance for the urban life of Alexandria. My comments are organized in two parts. First will be an analysis of the prehistory and the course of the event itself, where special attention will be paid to the question of responsibility for the escalating violence. The second part offers an attempt to reconstruct the course of events *after* the destruction of the great Serapeum site and to explore its impact on the life of the city.

III

It must first be acknowledged that we have far less information about the actual circumstances of the Serapeum's destruction than one would suppose from its enormous resonance in the literature of antiquity.[15] Many of the basic details are completely lacking. Indeed, many of the scattered "facts" and "observations" (of the ancients) either cannot be reconciled with each other or fall into the category of mere propagandistic

[14] Relevant are Rufin. *hist.* 11.22—on his sources for the destruction of the Serapeum, see Thelamon 1981, 18ff.; Baldini 1985, 97ff.—and Socr. *h. e.* 5.16, who many years later studied with two pagan grammarians in Constantinople who had participated in the Alexandrian revolt in 392 and made use of their accounts of the events. Soz. *h. e.* 7.15, it seems, depends entirely on the accounts of the two last-named authors. Eun. *v. soph.* 6.11 (p. 38f., Giangrande; p. 472, Boissonade) offers a summary of his detailed and independent account that was contained in his (lost) universal history. On the sources, see in particular Schwartz 1966 and Baldini 1985.

[15] The principle sources for the events are Rufin. *hist.* 11.22f.; Socr. *h. e.* 5.16f.; Soz. *h. e.* 7.15; Thdt. *h. e.* 5.22; Eun. *v. soph.* 6.11. See also Baldini 1985.

inventions. Even the precise date or the year of the destruction of the Serapeum is not certain. Modern scholarship suggests the years 389 to 397 A.D.—but such suggestions have not addressed the problems involved, nor provided adequate discussion.[16] The exact date is, however, of decisive importance for judging the events in Alexandria.

Most modern scholars date the event to the year 391, when an edict preserved in the Codex Theodosianus (16.10.11) expressly forbade pagan cult practices in temples. This text they see in unambiguous, causal connection with the later (in their view: immediately following) violent events. The decree is dated to 16 June 391 and addressed to the highest-ranking Roman officials in Alexandria: the *praefectus Augustalis*, Evagrius, and the *comes Aegypti*, Romanus. These officials, however, are named by other sources as important protagonists in the events surrounding the destruction of the Serapeum. Moreover, the Church historians claim that, because of a bloody pagan revolt, an imperial decree ordered the destruction of the Serapeum, and that this was indeed carried out by the Alexandrian bishop Theophilus and the previously named Roman officials. The combination of this basic information leads to the conclusion that the destruction of the great Serapis temple is to be dated in the summer of 391 and that it was executed on the explicit order of Emperor Theodosius.[17]

This historical reconstruction is, however, not viable. The actual wording of the decree—*Nulli sacrificandi tribuatur potestas, nemo templa circumeat, nemo delubra suspiciat. Interclusos sibi nostrae legis obstaculo profanos aditus recognoscan* . . .—forbids, it is true, any kind of pagan cult activity; it also forbids entry into temples when this is to be for religious purposes. The law thus actually bans the public exercise of pagan cults. Nevertheless, the text contains nothing whatsoever ordering the destruction of pagan temples. Indeed, it does not even imply that they are to be

[16] Bury 1923, 369; Bonneau 1964, 434: **389 A.D.**; Casson 2001, 138: **390 A.D.**; Bauer – Strzygowski 1906, 73 n. 1 (with a detailed discussion); Haas 1997, 161; Barnes 2000, 73f.; Millar 2000, 752; Bagnall 2002, 357; McKenzie – Gibson – Reyes 2004, 107: **391 A.D.**; Thelamon 1987, 51; Bowersock 1990, 22; Brown 1992, 113 n. 237; Barnes 1993, 61f. (important); Mitchell 2006, 250 and 319f.; **391/2 A.D.**: Errington 2006, 250f.; **392 A.D.**; Rumpf 1956, 49: **394 A.D.**; Bianchi Bandinelli et al. 1964, 90; Hornbostel 1973, 400 n. 3: **397 A.D**. But see now Hahn 2006 for what follows.

[17] See, *exempli gratia*, MacMullen 1997, 2: "Theodosius promulgated harsh anti-pagan laws and ordered the destruction of the huge, the world-famous, Sarapis-temple in Alexandria." Cf. Athanassiadi 1993, 14 with n. 90.

shut down, let alone destroyed.[18] Quite to the contrary, it presupposes their fundamental accessibility and their immunity. Destruction of the material basis for pagan worship is not specified or required.

Furthermore, the decree cited was not issued in connection with the local situation in Alexandria in particular, nor does it specify any forcible action against the city's temples. This can be understood to be the case because a decree with the same content had already been received by the Urban Prefect of Rome, four months previously, on 24 February 391. Moreover, on 8 November 392, that is, more than a year later, the Praetorian Prefect of the East, Rufinus, received a detailed, apparently final version of the general decree banning public pagan cult practices.[19] This remarkable situation throws instructive light on the technical procedures associated with legislative practices.[20] In particular, this legal situation means, first, that the decree sent to Egypt does not reflect a reaction of the imperial court to the specific situation in Alexandria, namely to the outbreak of a pagan revolt;[21] and second,

[18] *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.11, correctly perceived by King 1961, 79. The law continues: … *ut, si qui vel de diis aliquid contra vetitum sacrisque molietur, nullis exuendum se indulgentiis recognoscat. Iudex quoque si quis tempore administrationis suae fretus privilegio potestatis polluta loca sacrilegus temerator intraverit, quindecim auri pondo, officium vero eius, nisi conlatis viribus obviarit, parem summam aerario nostro inferre cogatur* ("No person shall be granted the right to perform sacrifices; no person shall go around the temples; no person shall revere the shrines. All persons shall recognize that they are excluded from profane entrance into temples by the opposition of Our law, so that if any person should attempt to do anything with reference to the gods or the sacred rites, contrary to Our prohibition, he shall learn that he will not be exempted from punishment by any special grants of imperial favor. If any judge [provincial governors *et alii*] also, during the time of his administration, should rely on the privilege of his power, and as a sacrilegious violator of the law, should enter polluted places, he shall be forced to pay into Our treasury fifteen pounds of gold, and his office staff a like sum, unless they opposed him with their combined strength"; trans. Pharr). Compare *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.8 (to Palladius, *dux Osrhoenis*), dated 30 November 382, which not only decreed the continuous opening of the temple (probably in Edessa) and its accessibility to and use by the community, but expressly allowed the cult statues to remain as art objects; the practice of pagan cults, however, was forbidden. The specific prohibition was apparently directed at Christian efforts. See also Noethlichs 1971, 168.

[19] *Cod. Theod*. 16.10.10, cf. 16.10.12.

[20] Gaudemet 1972, 598ff. on the parallel nature of the laws and processes. See also Harries 1999, 36ff., 82ff.; Matthews 2000, 160ff., 187ff.; Meyer-Zwiffelhoffer forthcoming.

[21] That means, following the report of Rufin. *hist.* 11.22, that the Roman officials in Alexandria had informed the emperor of the outbreak of the revolt and obtained a rescript from Constantinople (*ille…rescribit*). This rescript, allegedly ordering the removal by force of the images of the gods and temples as the root of all the troubles, has thus nothing to do with the surviving legal tradition. Additionally, one may observe

it means that the text of the decree envisaged no destruction either of the Serapeum itself or of any other temples.

The existence of an imperial decree that specifically ordered the destruction of the temple in Alexandria is nonetheless claimed by historians of the early Church. According to Socrates, Theophilus was the force behind the decree issued by the emperor, and its execution had been assigned to the bishop.[22] This account, like the reports of Rufinus and Sozomenus and indeed other variations,[23] involves a fundamental contradiction: on the one hand, these authors want to see the pagan revolt as the cause of the imperial initiative to destroy the Alexandrian temple; on the other hand, the very same authors explain that this pagan revolt, the one that led to the destruction of the temple, was an act of vengeance by the imperial power apparatus and a consequence of a carefully orchestrated provocation of the pagan groups that was instigated by Theophilus. Specifically, Theophilus, in connection with the construction of a new church, allowed recently uncovered cult objects to be paraded through the city. The purpose of this exposition was to humiliate the pagans, and indeed the latter, thoroughly insulted, attacked the Christians.[24]

As has already been indicated above, the decree of 16 June 391 cannot be identical with the edict reported by the Church historians. This conclusion also means, it is true, that the Theodosian compilation of laws includes, on the one hand, the above mentioned decree forbidding the practice of pagan cults (even reproducing it in several variations). It reflects thereby the continued existence of pagan buildings and shows that they were, in principle, accessible to the public. On the other hand, a significant documentary testimony, testimony that for the first time and explicitly mentions an order of the emperor for the destruction of a temple still actively attended by believers (as

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the equally agitative and completely ambiguous formulation of the 'rescript' by the Church historians.

[22] Socr. *h. e.* 5.16.1: τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Θεοφίλου σπουδῇ βασιλέως ἐκέλευε πρόσταγμα λύεσθαι τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναούς, καὶ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι τῇ Θεοφίλου φροντίδι. On its importance in reference to Socrates, and on the decree, see Errington 1997, 404f. and 423ff.

[23] Socrates (*h. e.* 5.16.1), who evaluated the accounts of at least two eye witnesses, gives this decree as the cause of the destruction and as the basis of all subsequent events. According to Rufin. *hist.* 11.22 (who depends on Soz. *h. e.* 7.15), the critical decree of Theodosius arrived only after the outbreak of the revolt and after the report of it was sent to the imperial court.

[24] See, with quotation, n. 35 below.

was the case with the Serapeum in Alexandria and the other temples of that city) would have failed to arouse legal interest and would not have been considered worthy of inclusion in the Code. Of course, in view of the barely comprehensible methods and rules followed by the compilers of the Theodosian Code, this is quite possible. Nonetheless, as will be shown, there are serious problems with the historicity of the accounts provided by the Christian authors.

The specific imperial decree, whose existence is asserted by the Church historians, is highly problematic for various reasons. From the outset, the existence of such a proclamation is hardly conceivable as early as in the year 392. The situation of the temples and the pagan cults in the years up to about 387 may be deduced from the famous speech of Libanius *Pro templis*. This rhetor used the destruction of temples in the region of Antioch in Syria by Christian monks and fanatic officials as an occasion to intervene with Theodosius and to beg the emperor for effective security measures. It is clear that such actions went against imperial law, despite the fact that other aspects of religious policy were indeed directed against the pagans. In this context, Libanius also confirms that the Serapis temple in Alexandria at this time was still unmolested and active.[25]

Furthermore, the decrees entered together in the Codex Theodosianus in book 16, under the rubric *De paganis, sacrificiis et templis*, document the fact that the state-sanctioned *destruction* of temples belongs to a later period. The earliest evidence here dates from the year 399 and concerns sanctuaries in the countryside; these—and only these—may be torn down, and, even then, *sine turba et tumultu*, that is, without arousing public unrest, as the text emphasizes. The subsequent laws actually place urban temples explicitly under imperial protection; only altars and cult statues in these buildings could be removed or destroyed.[26]

Building on this evidence, the decree of 16 June 391 can at best provide a *terminus post quem* for the destruction of the Serapeum. It cannot, however, have provided the legal foundation for the attack on

[25] The date of the speech is disputed but clearly seems to fall in 386/7. *Terminus ante quem* is 391/2, as Libanius speaks of the Serapeum as intact and still in cult use (*or*. 30.35, 44). See Petit 1951, in particular 61f.; Festugière 1959, 237f. n. 5, with a good overview; Norman 1977, 92ff. See now Wiemer 1995 with important observations and arguing for a date between 385 and 387; also Wiemer forthcoming.

[26] *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.16 or 16.10.18; 16.10.19.2. Cf. also 16.10.25. On the details, also Kunderewicz 1971, 141 and 146f.; Meier 1996; Meyer-Zwiffelhoffer forthcoming.

this temple or on other Alexandrian pagan sites. Indeed, one may well doubt if the imperial decree recorded by Christian tradition had any real historical existence. We must return to this question later.

Now, if no causal connection exists between the designated decree in the Codex Theodosianus and the final destruction of the Serapeum, we may identify two further implications. *First*, this conclusion removes the only foundation for dating this event to the summer of 391 or, in fact, to any time during that year. Unfortunately, space does not permit me to cite two further sources, namely an Alexandrian world chronicle and an observation from Jerome, that provide more precise clues to the dating. In my view, these sources allow one confidently to date this spectacular event to the year 392—in fact near the beginning of that year.[27]

The *second* conclusion to be drawn from the legislation as discussed before is that the responsibility of the Roman imperial court, and especially of Theodosius, for the events in Alexandria becomes doubtful. At any rate, the destruction of the Serapeum is not the result of Theodosian religious policy, as one usually concludes from a reconstruction based on the texts in the Codex Theodosianus. I can mention only in passing that a few years earlier the praetorian prefect Cynegius had resided in Alexandria on a number of occasions, and did so *without* taking any action against the Serapeum.[28] But precisely this notorious Christian destroyer of pagan idols did indeed implement aggressive anti-pagan measures in other parts of his diocese, *Oriens*, and had illegally laid waste to temples.[29] The destruction of the Serapeum, on the other hand, falls during the time in office of his successor, Tatianus (388–392), a notorious pagan, who enjoyed a reputation in Alexandria

[27] Hahn 2006 with additional material and detailed argumentation.

[28] On the chronology of this trip, see the comprehensive studies of Petit 1951, 56ff. and Marique 1963, 51ff. On related problems of detail, see especially Vera 1975, 279ff., Paschoud 1979, 425, Wiemer 1995, 124ff., and also Hahn 2004, 79f. It seems that in 357 or 358 a.d. the Serapeum, as possibly other temples in Alexandria at the same time, had already suffered some plundering during the episcopate of the Arian, and strongly anti-pagan, George of Cappadocia, a close follower of Emperor Constantius; Amm. 22.11.7; Iul. *ep.* 60 (Bidez). For details and discussion, see Martin 1996, 537f.; Haas 1997, 287ff.; Hahn 2004, 68ff.

[29] Lib. *or.* 49.3; Zos. *hist.* 4.37 with 4.45. A considerable amount of the religious legislation of Theodosius—also *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.9—was issued to Cynegius. See Marique 1963, 52 and the collection in *PLRE* 1:235–234 (Cynegius 3).

as the city's patron and benefactor.[30] In short, there arise a number of questions, of both theory and practice, concerning religious policy in late antiquity. Many of these questions concern the power—or *lack* of power—demonstrated by the emperor, by the Roman administration, and by local officials and notables.

IV

Let us turn to the immediate events themselves. Not all relevant details can be addressed here. The descriptions of the Church historians and of the pagan contemporary Eunapius are extraordinarily rich. The starting point for an analysis of selected problems must be the description provided by Rufinus. This description, written a few years after the events, is chronologically the closest, and certainly the most detailed, of all the accounts that survive. This witness actually raises the events he describes into a paradigm for the final subordination of paganism as part of the history of the victory of Christian faith.[31] His account also served as a basis for his successors, above all Sozomenus and Theodoretus, and to a certain degree also Socrates. Therefore, we should expect that these authors' accounts will not diverge significantly from each other.

The Church history provided by Rufinus is simple in concept: his central theme concerns the destruction of paganism as the epoch-making phenomenon of contemporary history.[32] He develops this thesis exclusively by describing the cults of Egypt, and his account reaches its climax in the description of the pagan reverence for Serapis, its erroneous doctrine, and—in pointed style—the destruction of its holy site in Alexandria. His report ends with the statement: *vetustus error extinctus est*—this is valid not only for the Serapis cult, but, indeed, it is also true for the pagan worship of this time as a whole. Historically and theologically, Rufinus juxtaposes this central event with another

[30] On Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus see *PLRE* 1: s.v. Tatianus; also the inscriptions and commentaries in Roueché 1989, 47–52 and 64–66 and Millar 2000, 760.

[31] So much F. Thelamon has demonstrated in his exemplary investigation of Rufinus' Church history; Thelamon 1981, 245ff. Nonetheless, his historical presentation (253ff.) is unsatisfactory: he tries to interpret the events—without a sufficiently critical examination of the other sources—as an example of Theodosian anti-pagan politics.

[32] Rufin. *hist.* 11.30.

event: the victory of the Christian emperor Theodosius over the pagan usurper Eugenius in the Battle of Frigidus in 394.[33]

For Rufinus as for all the authors, the starting point for the escalation of the religious conflict is to be found in the removal of an old Mithraeum by the bishop Theophilus in order to erect a church on this site.[34] The bishop ordered that the cult objects found in the fallen Adyton were to be paraded through the city in order to offend the pagan citizens, and this led to furious pagan attacks on Christians, which Rufinus describes as *bellum apertum*.[35] Unimaginable atrocities occur, untold numbers of Christians perish, and then the pagans retreat to the Acropolis of the Serapeum. At this point, if not earlier, the Church historian begins to revel in the traditions of martyrdom: Christians suffer the most abominable torture.[36] Above all, though, Rufinus' account approaches hagiography: the Christians experience all levels of consciousness that one would expect to find associated with their physical and spiritual torments, namely fear of death, then belief, then doubt, and finally hope and triumph. After the vain efforts of Roman officials to intervene, a lull ensues. But then the defenders are roused to further resistance by a philosopher, and dream revelations are cited. Only the arrival of an imperial decree overcomes this *epochē* and leads to a resolution: pagans and Christians gather together peacefully in front of the Serapis temple in order to listen to the public reading of an imperial proclamation. The proclamation announces an amnesty for all participants (including the pagans), declares the deceased Christians to be martyrs, and prescribes the destruction of all cult statues.[37]

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[33] Rufin. *hist.* 11.33. On this point, see THELAMON 1981, 311ff.

[34] Rufinus places the action at the site of a decaying basilica (*basilica quadam publici operis vetusta et admodum neglecta*), one that Constantine had already designated for the construction of a church. Socr. *h. e.* 5.16 mentions the exposure of a Mithraion, Soz. *h. e.* 7.15 writes of a temple of Dionysus. Note HAHN 2004, 89 with n. 357.

[35] Rufin. *hist.* 11.22 (p. 1025 l. 15ff., Mommsen): *…reperta in loco sunt antra quaedam latentia et terrae defossa latrociniis et sceleribus magis quam caerimoniis apta. igitur gentiles, qui retegi criminum suorum latebras et flagitiorum cavernas viderent, non ferentes operta tot saeculis mala et tenebris obtecta reserari, velut draconum calice potato insanire omnes ac palam furere coeperunt.*

[36] Rufin. *hist.* 11.22 (p. 1025 l. 25ff., Mommsen): *quo nonnullos ex Christianis captos secum abducentes accensis aris immolare cogebant, renitentes novis et exquisitis suppliciis excruciatos necabant, alios patibulis adfigentes, alios confractis cruribus in speluncas praecipitantes, quas ob sacrificiorum sanguinem ceterasque inpuritates delubri recipiendas vetustas curiosa construxerat.*

[37] Rufin. *hist.* 11.22 (p. 1026 l. 15ff., Mommsen): *ille* (i.e. *imperator*) *…rescribit illorum quidem vindictam, quos ante aras sanguis fusus martyres fecit, non esse poscendam, in quibus dolorem interitus superaverit gloria meritorum; de cetero vero malorum causam radicesque discordiae…penitus debere succidi.*

The Christians signal their approval with applause, but the pagans are shaken as they disperse. After an excursus about Serapis and its cult, the destruction of the site is described in minute detail.

Rufinus' account is a piece of historical devotional literature—or more precisely, a mixture of historical novel and legend, of historical theology and hagiography. Hardly a single element of hagiography is missing: even a Hallelujah from on high is heard from above the Serapeum by pagans and Christians together shortly before the dramatic finale. Unbounded exaggeration, contradiction, and implausible elements dominate the account. Thus the noted reactions to the reading of the imperial decree can only be described as patently false or invented: the whole language is deeply Christian in tone, the alleged amnesty is, later on, revealed as a lie, and the emperor declares deceased believers to be martyrs.[38]

V

Above all, comparison with Socrates' account illustrates that Rufinus' portrayal is not worthy of the faith that has been invested in it by scholars trying to reconstruct the events in question.[39] To be sure, Socrates' account is not without contradictions of its own.[40] But these are contradictions due to naïveté, and Socrates is able to name and to cite as witnesses two high-profile participants in the pagan revolt. Two of the teachers he had had as a young man, the grammarians Helladius and Ammonius, had fled Alexandria for Constantinople following

[38] This hardly was an emperor's job; in contrast, note the process initiated by Bishop Cyril to elevate an executed monk to the status of martyr, Socr. *h. e.* 7.14. Note also the clemency of the emperor in his alleged decree, on which see Hahn 2004, 88 with n. 354.

[39] See, e.g., the uncritical representation by Haas 1997, 161ff. Still more problematic is Leppin 2003, 169ff.

[40] Critical is Schwartz 1966, 102; note also Baldini 1985, 113f. Occasional conclusions, as for example from Bury 1923, 369 n. 1, that the representations of Sozomenus are superior to those of Socrates and are therefore to be preferred, are based on a lack of familiarity with the facts. Sozomenus is almost entirely dependent on Rufinus (or on the latter's source) and on Socrates. On the sources of Socrates: Socr. *h. e.* 5.16.9. The contradictions in Socrates, which suggest a *versio difficilior* of the events, should—together with his naming of his sources—vouch for the authenticity of much of the information contained in his report. Note also Wallraff 1997, 93ff. and 185ff. On the person and further career of Helladius, see Kaster 1988, 289; on Ammonius, see ibid., 241. On Socrates and his two pagan teachers, see also Urbainczyk 1997, 30–32 and 156f.

the destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria. The former, just as his colleague, had previously been a priest in the Egyptian metropolis and boasted of how he had single-handedly killed nine Christians. The preservation, or rather the deployment, of these eye-witness accounts, should vouch for the authenticity of some of the information supplied by this Church historian.

It is significant that Socrates knows nothing of a retreat by the pagans into the Serapeum or of the siege under which it was laid.[41] Indeed, he does provide a clear sequence of events, one that outlines a totally different development with regard to chronology and correlation of events as the crisis in Alexandria escalated. According to his account, the turbulence that arose followed immediately after the uncovering of the Mithraeum along with the exposure of the sacred artefacts *and* after a first destruction or plundering of the Serapeum[42] during which similar sacred objects, in fact phallic symbols, were set out in the forum for all to see. The subsequent ambush-style attacks of the pagans escalated thereafter to open street battles between pagans and Christians. Indeed, though the latter may have suffered heavier casualties, many on both sides were injured. After this bloodbath and without either a retreat into the Serapeum or even an attempt at its defense, the pagan agitation by itself came to a standstill. Indeed, many participants in the street battles, fearing the vengeance of the emperor, fled from Alexandria and went to other cities, including Constantinople.

Remarkably, in Socrates' account an imperial decree is mentioned only before the beginning of the violent conflicts. Indeed, in this Church historian's account, the pagan revolt is a *reaction* to an earlier ravaging of the Serapeum by Theophilus. This conflict ends without any participation by Roman officials or troops, although the latter do assist Theophilus with the now systematic destruction of pagan holy sites under the leadership of the Christian bishop.

In this report, Theophilus appears as the principal force, whereas in Rufinus' report neither his name nor his role as bishop of Alexandria are mentioned in connection with the violent acts. The provocative

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[41] One notes here also *Apophth. Patr.* Epiphanius 2 (*PG* 65, col. 164), where the destruction of the Serapeum by Theophilus takes place at the same time as a chariot race.

[42] Socr. *h. e.* 5.16.2; in view of the later usage—5.16.10f. offers καταλύειν τὰ ἱερὰ synonymous with καταστρέφειν—the first action against the Serapeum must already have been a destructive strike.

and aggressive attitude of Theophilus is also ignored by the Church historian Sozomenus, who follows Rufinus in this regard.

Above all, the pagan accounts name Theophilus as the initiator and person most responsible. Zosimus, the historian, declares that "Theophilus was the first to move against the temple and the traditional practices."[43] But above all Eunapius emphasises Theophilus' responsibility. This source is especially valuable, for Eunapius, who was otherwise a hate-filled opponent of Emperor Theodosius,[44] stresses in his report the participation of the imperial officials in Alexandria, Romanus and Evagrius only. By contrast, Theodosius is not even mentioned. This allows us to conclude that these imperial functionaries, without explicit instructions from the emperor, participated on their own initiative in the anti-pagan measures of Theophilus.[45]

Why, then, do the Christian sources insist on the existence of an imperial decree enforcing the destruction of the temple? Of course we may assume that Theophilus and his accomplices referred to an imperial decree and to laws calling for the constraint—although not for the destruction—of pagan cults. Nonetheless, the actual wording of these decrees was hardly of interest to them in such a crisis-filled atmosphere. The pagan attacks which followed the provocative parade of pagan sacred artefacts—attacks that might well have been only sporadic and conceived merely to defend cultic objects—served as the desired excuse for a massive and comprehensive action. This climaxed in the storming of the Serapeum and its destruction. The militancy and aggressiveness of the bishop's actions in any case left the pagan contemporaries stunned: Eunapius bitterly complains about the laying waste of the Serapeum, the "victory" without a struggle—ἄμαχος νίκη—which the attackers achieved against the defenseless cult statues.[46] The question of what dimension the pagan resistance achieved is thus—in contrast to the Christian accounts—left completely open.

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[43] Zos. *hist.* 5.23.3.

[44] See Buck 1988.

[45] A secondary formulation appears to allude to the official report of these functionaries in respect to their actions against the temple: …ἐπὶ ταῦτα (i.e. τὰ ἱερὰ) βαλλόμενοι, πολέμου δὲ μήτε ἀκοὴν ὑφιστάμενοι (Eun. *v. soph.* 6.11.3). Less space remains in this version for a decisive role for the emperor, to whom Eunapius attributes (as he also does with Constantine) failures and other disasters. Both Constantine and Theodosius are represented as 'bad' emperors.

[46] The detailed representation of the events by this pagan author has been lost. It was, as he himself mentions (Eun. *v. soph.* 6,11,7), preserved in his historical work. See Penella 1990, 11f.

Appeal to the allegedly available rescript of the emperor, one that specified concrete measures, served to provide the Christian side with retrospective 'evidence' that absolved the Christians (the bishop and the community) of responsibility for all the destruction and turmoil in Alexandria. On the contrary, moreover, it served rather to assign the responsibility to the emperor.

Other evidence in the sources documents the fact that in later years Theophilus tried to distance himself publicly from responsibility for the events of 392. However, there can be no doubt that, at least in the Alexandrian Church, the destruction of the Serapeum was considered a personal triumph of the bishop—and precisely because he was perceived as the driving force and *spiritus rector* behind these historic events. This is confirmed by an exceptional source, an illustrated 'world chronicle' that originated in circles of the Alexandrian Church and that appeared during the episcopate of Theophilus or shortly thereafter. This document, the richly illustrated last page of a 'world chronicle' (fig. 1, on p. 364), presents the bishop as a triumphator standing on the apex of the Serapeum, as one who overlooks the destruction of the temple that is depicted in the succeeding vignette (fig. 2, on p. 365).[47] That Zosimus labels Theophilus as ὁ πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος πατρίων ἐπιβουλῆς[48]—"the first who had initiated the attack upon the temples and our ancestors' long-standing sacred rites"—demonstrates (just as does the evidence of Eunapius) that the pagan recognition of the sequence of events, despite all the Christian propaganda to the contrary, is unambiguous and clear—and, indeed, much in concord with the illustrations of the Christian chronicler.

The whole spectrum of testimony in the Christian and pagan tradition regarding the events in Alexandria in 392 may be best understood under the assumption that the revolt of the pagan community, whether deliberately provoked or spontaneous, was used by the bishop of Alexandria and by his allies in the imperial bureaucracy to destroy the infrastructure of the entire pagan community and to remove its cultic basis in the city permanently. These decisions and actions were 'justifiable' because the civil disturbances were threatening the very fabric of society.

[47] Bauer – Strzygowski 1906, pl. 6 verso; cf. ibid., 71 und 122.
[48] Zos. *hist.* 5.23.3.

VI

It is also noteworthy that numerous and significant details concerning the immediately preceding events and their consequences in Alexandria are simply not included in the hagiographic tradition. So, for example, it remains completely unclear in the presentation of Rufinus what concrete measures were taken by the Christian 'conquerors' of the Serapeum hill. The triumph of the Christians appears limited here, as in general, to the destruction of the famous cult statue of Serapis.[49] Neither the earliest Christian commentator nor his successor, Sozomenus, mentions in this respect anything about the demolition of other temples in Alexandria. Among the Christian sources, only Socrates, the Church historian who has been much criticized on account of his repeated inconsistencies, offers more information about the situation in Alexandria, knowledge of which he apparently owed to his pagan teachers, who had participated in the revolts. This collective testimony, when combined with the later testimony of Rufinus and especially with the information left by other pagan writers, allows for a reasonable reconstruction of the events surrounding the destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria.

The Christian incursions into the sanctuary of the Serapeum were not limited to the destruction of the great image of the god that was later so carefully described. Rather, the entire sanctuary was, so it appears, extensively destroyed and systematically plundered.[50] The inventory has been completely lost: the innumerable sacred images and offerings in gold and silver were stolen; the extensive stocks of the library that had been placed behind the porticoes of the inner court

[49] Theodoretus reduces the report of Rufinus still further. He lets Theophilus take center stage in the events and highlights the narrative of the destruction of the famous statue with imagery familiar from the apologetic tradition: mice leap out of the bursting idol (Thdt. *h. e.* 5,23).

[50] Eun. *v. soph.* 6.11.5, who, incidentally, does not go into the destruction of the famous cult statue, describes the fury of the Christians as a struggle against masonry and cult images, a fury which only foundation blocks could resist. Cf. also Socr. *h. e.* 5.16 and the interpretation of the archaeological evidence by Botti 1895; cf. Fraser 1972, 1:270 with n. 664. From the later reports about the sanctuary of the Serapeum (Rowe – Rees 1957, 503ff.; Fraser 1972, 1:27ff.) a predominant intactness of the temple complex cannot be deduced: the temple hill with its massive substructures, so described by Rufinus and confirmed in the archaeological evidence, retained its structural and architectural organization, while the outward appearance of the complex was made to conform with the new requirements; see Evagr. *h. e.* 2.5. McKenzie 2003, 50ff. and McKenzie – Gibson – Reyes 2004, 104ff. provide nothing new.

of the sanctuary disappeared without a trace.[51] Especially bitter to the pagans was the fact that to secure the temple hill from the further clandestine practice of pagan worship, and as an open demonstration of the permanent victory of the Christian faith, the site was occupied by a colony of monks.[52] Immediately, or shortly, after the destruction of the Serapeum, the site became a *martyrium* dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The laying down of the precious relics set aside for this purpose, relics which again symbolized the conflict between the Church and contemporary paganism, was directed by the bishop and carried out in a procession before the eyes of the entire urban community.[53] A church constructed on the same site as the Serapeum goes back also to the time of Theophilus.[54]

VII

The interest of contemporaries and of subsequent scholarship has been fixed firmly on the destruction of the Serapeum and its symbolism.[55] This perspective, however, obscures our view of the much more significant and concrete effects of that event in its direct context. For the

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[51] The destruction of the library and its stocks remains a problem—important here is Oros. *hist.* 6.15.31—and has been discussed by generations of scholars, among them most recently El-Abbadi 1990, 160ff.; MacLeod 2000; Barnes 2000, 70ff.; Casson 2001, 138. However, consider the splendid comments of Bagnall 2002, 356ff.

[52] See Eun. *v. soph.* 6.11.6. On the deep contempt of cultivated pagans like Eunapius for monks, see Rousseau 1978, 9ff.; Penella 1990, 11. 145.

[53] Details on the procession: John of Nikiu, *Chronicle* 78.46f. (trans. Charles 1916, 75). See also Maraval 1985, 290 and 316. On the conditions surrounding the construction and occupation of the *martyrium* and on the evidence and related problems, see Martin 1984, 222 at n. 69.; Martin 1998, 15f.—The relics of John were originally preserved in Sebaste (Samaria); under Julian they had been excavated by the local pagans and burned (Philost. *h. e.* 7.4; *Chron. Pasch.* anno 362 [p. 546, Dindorf]). From there, so Rufin. *hist.* 11.28, recounting the local tradition, they had been taken to Athanasius in Alexandria who, so it was told, kept them. See especially Orlandi 1968–1970, 1:66f. and 2:62f., who discusses the *Narratio integra aedificationis martyrii Iohannis Baptistae* of Theophilus relevant here.

[54] According to Soz. *h. e.* 7.15.10, the emperor Arcadius was the titular patron of this church, which was constructed "not much later" (i.e. after the destruction of the Serapeum). However, John of Nikiu, *Chronicle* 83.37 (trans. Charles 1916, 88) mentions the younger son of Theodosius, Honorius, as the name-giver of a church on the site of the Serapeum. Cf. also Calderini 1935, 145; Martin 1984, 222; Martin 1998, 15f.; Gascou 1998, 34ff.

[55] On the rich apologetic literature (from both Christian and pagan hands) which immediately sprang up after the fall of the famous temple, see the references in Hahn 2004, 85 with nn. 339f.

event also possessed a truly epoch-making significance for the religious, social, and political life of Alexandria.

The destruction of the Serapis temple was, indeed, only the spectacular climax of a campaign of destruction that the Christian powers in the city—i.e. bishop and Roman magistrates—unleashed against *all* the pagan cult sites of the metropolis. The details of this systematic devastation, the plundering and profanation of the pagan infrastructure of Alexandria, are nevertheless hardly known. Our sources completely concentrate themselves on the fate of the temple and the statue of the most important sacred Alexandrian site.

Thus Socrates is the only Church historian who mentions the resulting destruction or transformation of other Alexandrian temples once the Serapeum had been stormed and devastated.[56] The detailed knowledge of these events he owed to his pagan teachers in Constantinople, informants who had also been participants in the revolts in Alexandria many years before. To this day it is hardly acknowledged in the literature that a direct contemporary witness exists for these events: the pagan grammarian Palladas, who taught in Alexandria and saw the entire episode as an eye-witness. About 150 epigrams from his pen are preserved in the collection of the *Anthologia Graeca*.[57] A good dozen of these epigrams contain valuable information about the religious and social situation in the Egyptian metropolis immediately after Theophilus' triumph.[58] To cite just one example of four related epigrams—the grammarian documents the transformation of the temple of Tyche into a tavern: the goddess Tyche herself, he writes, having shortly before been the object of worship, has been struck down by fate and forced to serve as a barmaid in the new locale.[59]

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[56] Socr. *h. e.* 5.16.10.

[57] Thereby is Palladas one of the most frequently cited authors of such verse in the *Anthologia Graeca*. On Palladas, see, besides the literature quoted later, comprehensively Kaster 1988, 329f.; also Schröder 1996. On the probable dates of the poet, see Cameron 1993, 69 (following Bowra 1959): born ca. 319 A.D. The interpretation of the epigrams as contemporary testimony of the events in Alexandria provides important insights into the political and religious conditions resulting from the destruction of the Serapeum, but has remained largely neglected by historians. See also Wipszycka 1988, 134ff.; Demandt 1989, 134; Leppin 2003, 169ff. Haas 1997 recognizes the value of the epigrams as historical sources, but only in a very limited way, ibid. 163, 167, 172.

[58] Fundamental here is the dissertation by Zerwes 1956, note also Bowra 1960b and Cameron 1964, 1965a, and 1965b.

[59] *Anth. Gr.* 9.180–183 and 10.90. See on this point also Zerwes 1956, 268ff. and 351ff.; Bowra 1960b, 122; Cameron 1964, 57; Cameron 1965a, 22. For the year 396 A.D., *Cod. Theod.* 14.27.1 confirms the largely undamaged state of the edifice as it mentions a

The deep transformation of sacral relationships is also discussed by Palladas by means of the tragic fate experienced by many other worthy cult statues in Alexandria. A toppled portrayal of Hercules is made to say: "Even though I am a god, I learned to tack with the winds of change."[60] Another epigram argues that the statues of Olympic gods have been "Christianized"—Χριστιανοὶ γεγαῶτες. Apparently these artefacts have been exhibited in a church or now decorate some other Christian edifice. In any case, they are now secure: secure from the smelting crucible that threatened to reduce them to copper coinage, φόλλεις.[61] A similar fate awaited various statues of Nike, which apparently found a new function as angel figures in a Christian church.[62] One may conclude that even statues of gods can be converted!

The pagan Palladas in this way confirms the observations of the Church historian Socrates about the actions of Theophilus and the Roman officials in Alexandria after the fall of the Serapeum. Not only were further temples destroyed: other statues found in the buildings were stolen and used either for the advantage of the Church or melted down. Socrates and Palladas alike thus document the comprehensive and systematic character of the bishop's actions against the pagan cult sites in Alexandria. They also provide an impressive underpinning for Eunapius' accusation that Theophilus consciously intended to have the temples robbed of their valuable religious inventory and of their holy offerings. Can it be accidental that all Church historians and Christian contemporaries are silent about the fact that Theophilus (and the Alexandrian Church) were thereby able to come into possession of such enormous material resources? Only local sources later in time and the Coptic tradition are able to mention—partly in legendary form—the enormous riches that Theophilus was able to acquire at that time.[63]

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law *de Alexandrinae plebis primatibus p(osita) Alexandriae Eutycheo*. The statuary decoration of the structure, which included, besides the images of the gods, e.g. statues of Alexander and of Ptolemaeus Soter ([Ps.-]Lib. *progymn*. 25 [vol. 8, p. 530, Förster]), must have remained at least partly in place. Statues standing here allegedly removed themselves from their pedestals (a miracle!) in 602 A.D. (Thphyl. 8.13.10).

[60] *Anth. Gr*. 9.441: καιρῷ δουλεύων καί θεὸς ἔμαθον.

[61] *Anth. Gr*. 9.528. See also on this point Zerwes 1956, 276ff.; Bowra 1960a; and Cameron 1965b, 223f. Cf. also *Anth. Gr*. 9.773, where Palladas treats the end of Eros in a melting pot.

[62] *Anth. Gr.* 16.282. See Cameron 1964, 54ff.

[63] Eutychius of Alexandria, *Annals* 218 (ed. Breydy 1985, 70f.); Orlandi 1968–1970, 2:12ff. and 61ff.; Orlandi 1985, 103.

We can even offer some conjecture as to the fate of these treasures. Acts of Church councils later registered in precise detail the fabulous sums with which Theophilus bought off bishops and courtiers in Constantinople in order to drive John Chrysostom, the first bishop of the empire, out of office.[64] Theophilus and his successor Cyril invested further fortunes at the imperial court in order to promote the primacy of Alexandria within the Eastern Church.[65] Above all else, though, the treasures from the pagan temples gave Theophilus the opportunity to set himself up in Alexandria as a building magnate in the greatest style: perhaps a dozen churches owe their construction to this bishop.[66] The events of 392 were, then, decisive for that process by which the Church acquired enormous material resources, resources that allowed it to enhance her societal and economic position in Alexandria dramatically.[67]

VIII

The destruction of the material basis for pagan worship as well as the removal of religious competition were only two of the goals pursued by Theophilus through the escalation of violence he initiated in Alexandria. It can be shown that the bishop strove for a comprehensive Christianization of public life and of the city's urban identity. Blatant in these efforts is the militant and aggressive attitude that came to the fore under this bishop. His behaviour stands in stark contrast to the politics of Bishop Athanasius (328–373), who sought peaceful coexistence between Christians and pagans.[68] This in turn underlines the rapid transformation in the religious and social self-conception of Alexandrian Christians—or at least of their bishop.

The polarization of the religious situation in Alexandria under Theophilus illuminates the events that culminated in the destruction of the Serapeum. For the demonstrative presentation of pagan cult symbols

[64] Pall. *v. Chrys.* 8. On this point, Baynes 1955, 107f.; Favale 1958, 127ff. with the evidence.

[65] This controversy has been summarized by Hardy 1952, 107ff.; Jouassard 1957, 509ff.; Frend 1984, 752ff.; Griggs 1990, 192ff.; Russell 2000.

[66] The construction obsession (λιθομανία) of Theophilus is discussed in detail by Haas 1997, 207 n. 58; also Alston 2002, 301.

[67] On this point and with references, Hahn 2004, 40ff. and 70f.

[68] Hahn 2004, 62ff.

that came to light in the excavations of the Mithraeum offended the religious sensitivities of the pagan citizens deeply. This act was nothing less than a consciously planned provocation. The intended construction of a church on the location of the pagan sanctuary also signaled in unmistakable fashion the Christians' claims to take over the city's sacred space.

The whole spectrum of measures taken after the destruction of the temples, as well as their systematic nature, reflected the same unbending will of the bishop to assume religious and social leadership in Alexandria. The pagan cult statues were not destroyed or removed in silence; rather, a large number of them were profaned publicly or, worse still, used to decorate Christian churches. They were trophies of victory, in short, used to honour the God of the Christians—and thus became symbols of the Church's triumph over paganism. The Church's irreconcilable attitude and its aggressive intolerance with respect to the now humbled pagan beliefs could not be better demonstrated than through one further measure undertaken by Theophilus: as Socrates reports, the bishop personally preserved from destruction one statue, that of an ape-like god (probably Hermes-Thot). Theophilus had it displayed publicly in order, as he put it, "that the pagans cannot later deny that they worshipped such gods."[69]

Of an equally symbolic nature were other events that followed the destruction of the temple. If Rufinus is to be believed, fragments of the great cult statue of Serapis were dragged into various districts of the city and burned there in front of numerous on-lookers.[70] The remaining torso, on the other hand, was set aflame in the city's main theater, that is, in the central meeting place of the citizenry. This burning was celebrated as a religious statement; it is probable that the event was orchestrated centrally and quite consciously to symbolize the ritual cleansing of the city from the pagans' erroneous beliefs.

The same conclusion can be drawn from the systematic destruction of the countless small Serapis busts that could be found on pedestals on the streets and crossings of Alexandria. They were demolished and replaced by signs of the cross, all apparently within a few hours or days.[71] Thus the city now belonged to Christ and the God of the

[69] Socr. *h. e.* 5.16.12f.
[70] Rufin. *hist.* 11.23.
[71] Rufin. *hist.* 11.29.

Christians, no longer to Serapis. A similar symbolic importance can be attached to the decision to convey the holy Nilometer, which was used to measure the annual ascension of the river Nile, to a Christian church; previously it had been preserved in the Serapeum.[72] Thus, the Christianization of urban religious life followed the Christianization of the city's religious identity and its self-image. This process had been started immediately after the storming of the Serapeum hill and the destruction of the ancient temple and its cult statue. The swift settlement of monks on the site, the erection first of a humble martyrium of St. John the Baptist that received relics of the saint procured from Palestine, later the construction of a proper church dedicated to a Christian emperor on the ground of the former pagan sanctuary—all these measures aimed at seizing possession of the physical and symbolic fabric of the city and capital of Egypt.

IX

The triumph of Christianity in Alexandria had still further wide-ranging consequences, namely, in social life—"their (i.e. the Alexandrians') society was being swept away by the torrent" as a pagan chronicler put it.[73] Unfortunately, this transformation in social relationships can be seen only in dim outline. Public life apparently fell equally under the control of the bishop. After the end of the pagan revolt, many participants preferred to leave the city immediately. This fact stands in sharp juxtaposition to Rufinus' earlier statement that the emperor in his decree had given amnesty to all rebels.[74] Those persons who fled, as far as they can be identified by name, represented that part of active paganism that felt itself equally bound to pagan religious practices and to the Hellenic nurturing of culture (Ἕλληνες). In fact the expulsion of this group of pagans appears to have been the overriding goal of the new holder of power in the city.[75]

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[72] On the Christianization of the cult of the Nile, see the comprehensive account in Bonneau 1964, 421ff. See also Frankfurter 1998, 42ff.

[73] Dam. *Isid*. fr. 97 (p. 73, Zintzen = 42F p. 126, Athanassiadi); Athanassiadi 1999, 355.

[74] Rufin. *hist.* 11.22.

[75] A century after the Alexandrian incidents, the chronicler of the most distinguished Neoplatonists of the age, and of their schools, Damascius, treated in his *Philosophical History* the destruction of the Serapeum as the opening episode in the narration of the sufferings of the pagan intelligentsia, thus marking the far-reaching consequences

Here, too, the epigrams of Palladas provide information that has hardly been considered previously in its historical context. Palladas describes how he lost his teaching post as a grammarian, paid by the city, after the religious upheaval. The denunciations of a certain Dorotheus robbed him of his income, his τροφίμη σύνταξις, and so he had to sell his textbooks and change his profession.[76] The details of all this remain unfortunately murky. Nonetheless, Alan Cameron has plausibly shown that Palladas is referring to the loss of his position as a salaried teacher of grammar, a position that he lost when the Christian officials (through Dorotheus) were informed of his pagan persuasions. After the loss of the teaching position in Alexandria, and that was immediately after the triumph of the Christians, he was no longer in a position to earn a living as a self-employed teacher of pagan literature. And indeed, such a profession may have brought with it considerable personal risk. But the relocation of numerous grammarians to Constantinople and to other cities in the empire, documented by Socrates, corresponds exactly with the account by Palladas.[77] Immediately after the revolt in Alexandria, the "Hellenic" cause had no standing there—not even the classical *paideia* and its teachings.[78]

Palladas was under no illusions as to the situation of the Hellenes in Alexandria. A number of his epigrams reveal a melancholic fatalism and deep resignation. The defeat of paganism is recognized by Palladas without reservation, and it is understood as irreversible. He wrote: "Are we Hellenes? No, we are the dust of Hellenism, and we set our dead hopes on corpses.... Ah, today's things have taken a fearsome turn."[79] Palladas then viewed pagan culture as something that had been lost

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of these local events in the whole of the eastern Mediterranean. See Dam. *Isid.* fr. 97 (p. 73, Zintzen = 42F p. 126, Athanassiadi); Athanassiadi 1999, 355.

[76] *Anth. Gr.* 9.175 and, probably somewhat later, 9.171. See Zerwes 1956, 22ff. and Cameron 1965a, 26. On the contemporary use of σύνταξις as an indication of a salary for municipally appointed teachers, see Lib. *or.* 31.19. Also Kaster 1988, 120ff. and 217ff.

[77] Socr. *h. e.* 5.16f.

[78] According to Cameron 1965a, 27, this conclusion follows also from *Anth. Gr.* 9.171 l. 3f.: "the other and more important meaning is that teaching the classics, at least during this critical period, had actually become *dangerous*."

[79] *Anth. Gr.* 10.90 l. 5–7: Ἕλληνές ἐσμεν ἄνδρες ἐσποδωμένοι ¦ νεκρῶν ἔχοντες ἐλπίδας τεθαμμένας· ἀνεστράφη γὰρ πάντα νῦν τὰ πράγματα. See also *Anth. Gr.* 9.501. But cf. Zerwes 1956, 282ff.; Bowra 1959, 205.

forever; those who persisted in practicing that culture were nothing less than inhabitants of a shadow world or hopeless dreamers.[80]

Nevertheless, the perceptiveness of this pagan intellectual allows us to see clearly who now held the reins of power in the city in his hands. The beginning of the epigram just cited divulges everything about the newly-formed social and power relationships in Alexandria. In translation, the lines read: "Alas for the extreme malice of envy! The lucky one, the one favoured by God, we hate him! So senselessly are we led astray by envy; so ready are we the slaves of folly."[81] The true meaning of these words only becomes apparent, however, when one reads the Greek text precisely: the "lucky one" and the "one favoured by God" is none other than Theophilus himself, the Christian bishop: τὸν θεὸς φιλεῖ—that is, 'Theophilus'.

The deeper, more personal point of this word-play, which is also found in a few other epigrams, is seen in the poem cited earlier in which Palladas complains about the loss of his own professional existence. This poem ends with the words: "But you Theon, my friend, oh help me and do not let me end my life in conjunction with today's poverty."[82] Palladas appeals here once more to θέων φίλε—that is, Theophilus—to give him work, pay, and bread once again. It is an appeal to the new master of the city, the Christian bishop: Theophilus should use his influence to convince the city authorities to give back to him, Palladas, his lost professorship. At the same time, this wish registers something else: Palladas, the pagan grammarian, wants to be taken on as a new client of the Christian bishop, to be accepted by him. The triumph of the Christian side is complete—it is a religious, a cultural, and a social triumph.

The epigram cited documents, lastly, the considerable—perhaps now almost unlimited—political power of the local bishop as a consequence of the violent events of 392. Theophilus appears here as a powerful patron, as one who during his tenure of office in the following decades

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[80] *Anth. Gr.* 10.82: "Is it not true that we are dead and only seem to live, we Greeks, fallen into misfortune, fancying that a dream is life? Or are we alive and live is dead?" (trans. W.R. Paton, LCL) Ἆρα μὴ θανόντες τῷ δοκεῖν ζῶμεν μόνον; ¦ Ἕλληνες ἄνδρες, συμφορᾷ πεπτωκότες, ¦ ὄνειρον εἰκάζοντες εἶναι τὸν βίον; ¦ ἢ ζῶμεν ἡμεῖς τοῦ βίου τεθνηκότος; (Cameron provides a more pointed English translation, 1965a, 27). On this epigram, see also Zerwes 1956, 280ff. and Bowra 1959, 257f.

[81] *Anth. Gr.* 10.90 l. 1–3. See also the immediately following epigram.

[82] *Anth. Gr.* 9.175 l. 5f.: ἀλλὰ σύ μου πρόστηθι, θέων φίλε, μηδέ μ' ἐάσῃς ¦ συνδέσμῳ πενίης τὸν βίον ἐξανῦσαι. See also Cameron 1965a, 27f.

came to show himself as such to large segments of the population. He provided work and bread for the urban masses through his ceaseless construction of churches. These building projects, financed by the robbery of treasures from the Serapis temple in 392, allowed the Alexandrian bishop to perform in a traditional role: as an Euergetes, as a benefactor. In that way he presented and legitimized himself as the real master of the city, and the new authority in Alexandria.

The destruction of the Serapeum, which so exclusively commanded the attention of contemporaries, represented only the first decisive step, the violent religious breakthrough, on the road toward this goal. That road led to the transformation of the Egyptian metropolis into that "Christ-loving city" that is so happily apostrophized in the texts of the fifth century.[83] As the earliest witness to that "Christ-loving Alexandria", however, in a certain sense, we have to look not to a Christian source, but rather to Palladas, a pagan.

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[83] *Anth. Gr.* 16.282 l. 2. The evidence is nevertheless not beyond dispute. On this point, and for the references, see Cameron 1964, 54f., and also Irmscher 1970.

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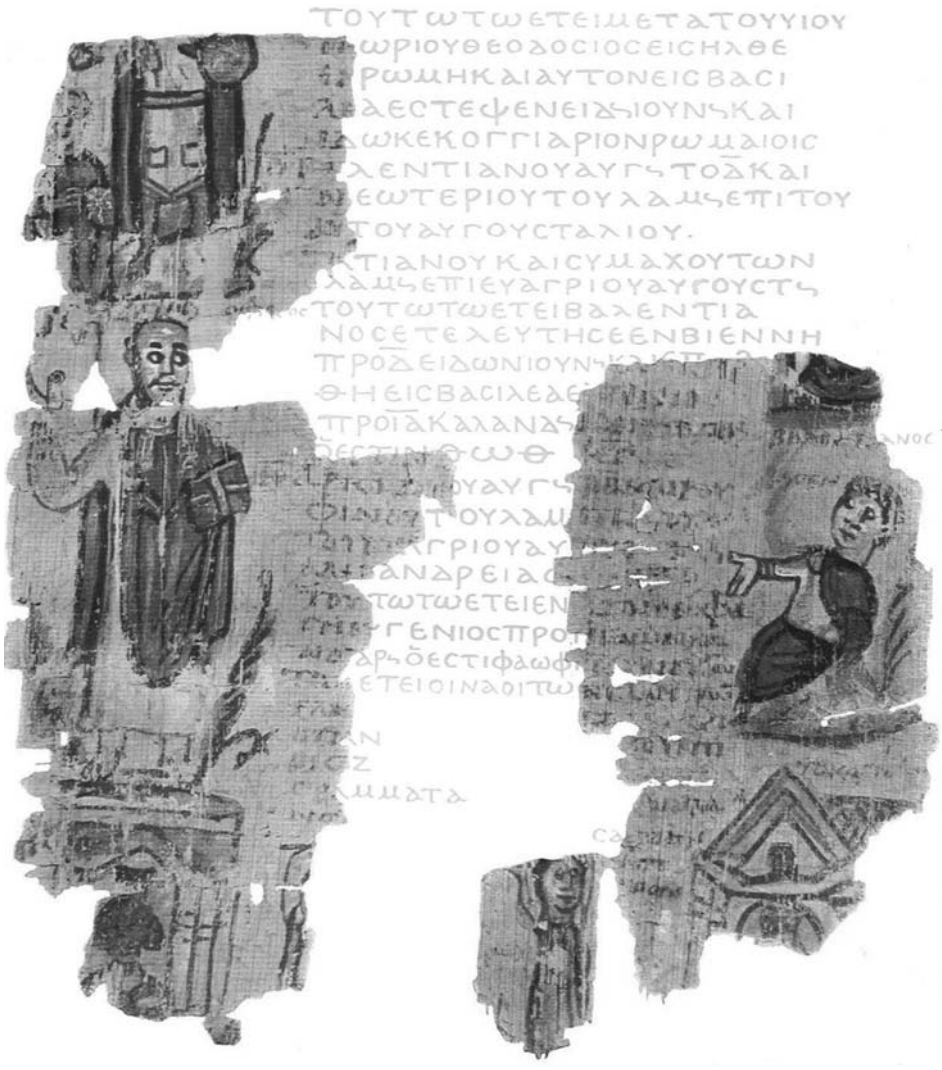

Fig. 1: Alexandrian World Chronicle: Events of A.D. 389–392 (P. Goleniscev, VI verso). Above left, in frontal view, Emperor Theodosius with globe decorated with a cross in his left hand and young Honorius at his side; opposite them, remains of a figure in bluish purple garments: Emperor Valentinian. At right, in the middle, looking at Theodosius, the pretender Eugenius, begging for mercy on his knees. At left, in the middle, Bishop Theophilus as Triumphator over Serapis, upon whose temple he stands as on a pedestal (see detail, fig. 2). Below right, Christians storming the Serapeum. Credit: BAUER – STRZYGOWSKI 1906, pl. 6 verso

Fig. 2: Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria (385–412), triumphs over the god Serapis in his shrine (P. Goleniscev, VI verso, detail). The bishop with golden nimbus is designated ΑΓΙΟΣ [ΘΕ[ΟΦΙ[ΛΟΣ], "St. Theophilus". He stands facing forward, clothed with a yellow undergarment and a bluish purple overgarment and with a narrow gray band around his neck, and directs his gaze to the left. His left hand holds the Gospel, decorated with a cross, and his right hand is raised. His face is framed by a gray beard, his head is sparsely crowned with hair. At his feet, green branches rise up to the sides. The bishop stands on a pedestal, which, architecturally embellished, shows three pillars at the right-hand side, displays a gable over the middle, and represents probably a polygonal structure. Under the gable, on a gray ground, the upper body of a beardless figure dressed in brown with mid-length locks of hair hanging broadly around the head bearing a bushel is a bust of the god Serapis (cf. Bauer – Strzygowski 1906, 66ff. and 122). Credit Bauer – Strzygowski 1906, pl. 6 verso, detail.

INDEX OF ANCIENT SOURCES

Note: For the abbreviations used, see pp. x–xi above; for the biblical books, see *Biblica* 63 (1982), 5–7.

A. *Biblical books*

Gen 19:24 119
Exod 20:4–5 182
Exod 22:20 182
Num 20:17 186
Num 21:22 186
Deut 4:16 190
Deut 4:16–19 182
Deut 5:8–9 182
Deut 13:6–9 182
Deut. 17:2–5 182
1 Sam 5–6 137
1 Kings 18 137
Ps 119:122 184
Ps 119:134 184, 192
Prov 4:25 182
Qoh 1:9 183
Isa 13:21 183
Isa 27:1 183
Isa 37:6 186
Isa 41:10 186
Isa 44:9–20 137
Isa 51:7 186
Isa 53:12 185
Jer 9:3 185
Jer 10:3.8 137
Dan 14 137
Lam 2:18 184
Matt 5:11 184
Matt 5:44 184
Matt 10:25 187
Matt 10:28 186, 195
Matt 24:2 183
Mark 3:21 185
Mark 3:30 185
Mark 13:2 183
Luke 6:28 184
Luke 21:6 183
Luke 22:37 185
John 1:1 173
John 7:51 184
John 15:18 186
John 15:20 186
John 15:21 187
John 9:24 185
John 10:20 185
John 11:9 183
Acts 5:19 177
Acts 12:10 177
Acts 16:26 177
1 Cor 2:16 186
1 Cor 3:11 183
Eph 5:12 182
2 Tim 2:17 187

B. *Ancient authors and works*

Abū 'l-Makārim 235 304
Achilles Tatius 5.1 337
Acta SS. Abramii et Mariae 6–12 115
Africanus, Sextus Julius
chron. fr. 18 284
Ammianus Marcellinus
22.16.7–12 337–338
Anthologia Graeca
9.171 358
9.175 358–359
9.180–183 353
9.441 354
9.528 354
10.82 359
10.90 353, 358, 359
16.282 354, 360
Apophthegmata Patrum 107
Anoub 1 101, 147, 152
Bessarion 4 104
Bessarion 5 96
Daniel 3 96
Elias 7 100

Epiphanius 2 348
Eulogius the Priest 1 103
Longinus 4 96
Lot 2 97
Macarius the Great 13 98
Macarius the Great 39 96
Poemen 7 96
Theophilus 3 102, 103
N77 96
N176 97
N190 97
N191 96
N256 103
N257 103
N298 96
N307 96
Verba seniorum
(5) 12.3 (*PL* 73:941) 105
(6) 3.1 (*PL* 73:1004) 105, 106
Appianus
civ. 1.97 259
Asclepius 24 140
(NHC VI 69:28–70:2)
Athanasius
ep. apol. sec. 72 56
ep. Drac. 107
ep. encycl.
3.2 56
5 56
hist. ar.
9 56
55.2 56
tom. ad Antioch. 219
(*PG* 26:808)
v. Ant.
8–9 115
8.12 315
12.4–14.2 108
14.7 95
26 115
35–36 115
39 115
47.1 107
74–80 108
94.2 108
Augustinus
civ. 5.26 308
Basilius Seleucensis
mir. Thecl.
1–4 124–125
19–20 125
39 125
v. Thecl.
27.53–61 123
84–85 123
172.13–15 123
284–290 123
Besa
fr. 41 141
Callinicus Monachus
v. Hyp. 30.1 122
Cassiodorus
hist. 6.15.4 2
Chronicon Paschale
anno 362 2, 352
anno 379 1
Codex Theodosianus
15.1.2 8
16.10.7 299
16.10.8 299, 341
16.10.10 180, 341
16.10.11–12 180, 308, 341
16.10.15 180
16.10.16 180, 343
16.10.18–19 180, 343
16.10.25 115, 180, 215
Cyrillus Alexandrinus
hom. div. 18 216
(*PG* 77:1105)
Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus
catech. (*PG* 33:816A–B) 115
Damascius
Isid. fr. 97 357, 358
Digesta
1.16.7.1 8
Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita
chron. III anno 554/5 1
Epiphanius Constantiensis
haer. 51.22.9ff. 337
mens. 11 301
Eunapius Historicus
v. soph.
6.11 302, 308–309, 339, 349, 351–352
11.3–5 147
Eusebius Caesariensis
dem. 5.9.8 (20) 284
h. e.
1.13 233
6.40 307
laud. Const. 6 115
onomast. 20.9–14 287
v. Const.
3.25–29 48
3.25–40 279
3.26–27 114
3.51–53 284

3.54 48, 146
3.55–57 48
3.58 1, 48
Eutychius of Alexandria
Annals 218 354
Expositio totius mundi et gentium 34–36 335
Georgius Syceotes
Vita Theodori Syceotae 16 131
Gregorius Nyssenus
v. Gr. Thaum. 5 (35–40) 225
Hieronymus
Vita Ilarioni 133.24–29 116
Historia monachorum in Aegypto
5.1–4 99
8.3–4 106
8.21–29 106, 136
Historia Patriarcharum Ecclesiae Alexandrinae (ed. Evetts)
11 (pp. 161–162) 302
16 (p. 280) 306
Iosephus
bell. Iud.
1.404 283
1.414 280
Itinerarium burdigalense
585–586 278
589 280
599.3–6 284
Johannes Chrysostomus
Jud. 8 (*PG* 48:852) 115
pan. Bab. 2 76ff. (XIV) 12
Johannes Ephesinus
h. e.
3.3.36 129
3.4.49 217
Johannes Malalas
chron.
13.3–4 8
13.37 1
John of Nikiu
Chronicle
78.46f. 352
83.37 352
Libanius
ep.
724 9
828 9
1364 9
or.
30 9, 343
30.8–10 91, 140, 299, 308
30.44–46 299
30.53 175
31.19 358
49.3 344
Life of Moses of Abydos 136, 149, 155
Marcus Diaconus
v. Porph. 235
57–79 118–121
75ff. 12
84 121
Marinus
Procl. 19 209
Notitia urbis Alexandrinae 7, 336–337
Orosius, Paulus
hist. 6.15.31 301, 352
Palladius Monachus
h. Laus.
2 315–316
11.1–3 107
v. Chrys. 8 355
Panegyricus in Macarium Antaeopolis episcopum
5 12, 136
5.4 149
5.11 175
16.1 304
Paphnutius
h. mon. (trans. Vivian)
26–85 225
29–36 136, 142, 145, 153, 226
31–52 97
87 227
Paul of Tamma
On the Cell 110
Philostorgius
h. e. 7.4 352
Priscus
fr. 21 210, 307
Procopius
Pers.
1.1.37 320
1.19 203, 210, 307
1.19f. 205
Prudentius
c. Symm. 1.501–505 171
Rufinus
hist.
10.1 47
10.8 63, 74
10.12 54
11.22 80, 82, 308, 339
11.22f. 339, 341
11.22–30 102

11.23 301–302, 309, 356
11.26 81
11.27–28 303, 307, 352
11.29 356
11.30 345
11.33 346
Shenoute
God Says, codex GF 255 175
Let Our Eyes 182–197
fr. 1.3 143, 169, 171, 172, 179
fr. 1.7 178
fr. 1.8–9 167–168
fr. 1.10 143, 168, 169
fr. 1.21–24 166, 168, 169
fr. 1.25 143, 171
fr. 1.26–33 173–174
fr. 2.3–4 168, 177
fr. 2.5–7 143, 170, 177
fr. 2.9 179
fr. 2.10 164
fr. 2.10–12 143, 169, 178
Lord Thundered
codex DU 45–48 175
codex DU 48 142
Not because a Fox Barks 171
Only I Tell Everyone (*De idolis vici Pneueit II*) 142, 165, 179
aceph. work A4 167
aceph. work A6, codex TY 3–4 108, 150
aceph. work A26 (*De iudicio*), Turin codex 113–114 142, 164
frag. (*De inuriis Sinuthii*), codex DD 223–224 142, 163
Socrates Scholasticus
h. e.
1.17–18 1, 49, 58, 74
1.40 67
2.11 53
2.14 53
2.37 53
3.1–3 53–54, 58, 75, 146
3.15–17 50, 145, 146, 301, 308, 309, 313, 339
3.18 49, 50; 59
3.20–21 50, 68, 75
3.24 55
3.26 68
4.11 77
4.19 55
4.29 78
5.1 74
5.16 81–82, 342, 347, 356
5.16f. 339
7.7 301
7.14 347
Sophronius Hierosolymitanus
mir. Cyr. et Jo. 27 (*PG* 87.3:3413A) 304
Sozomenus Salaminus
h. e.
1.8 49, 63
1.10 79
1.13 79
3.17–19 54
4.2 54
4.14–16 54
5.3–4 49–50
5.9–11 1, 49, 50, 145
5.19 12, 50
6.2 76
6.3 55
6.40 70
7.15 83, 116, 145, 300, 308, 309, 339, 352
7.23 76
7.25 76
8.1–3 70, 83
Strabo
14.640 244
17.1.8ff. 337
17.818 226
Symeon Metaphrastes
Vitae sanctorum
PG 115:56A–60A 115
PG 116:176 132
Synaxarium Ecclesiae Copticae
13 Hatūr 149
Synesius Cyrenensis
ep. 105 300
Theodoretus Cyrrhensis
h. e.
1.16–17 49
1.31–33 73
1.34 49, 71
2.33 71
3.3 145
3.6–7 2, 49–50
3.10 59
3.18 54
3.20 50

3.28 65, 71
4.1–2 55
4.22 56
5.17–18 73, 76
5.20–23 51, 58 74, 76, 84, 116, 145, 301, 309, 339, 351
5.25 74
h. rel.
16.1 99, 126
21.3.3–6 126
28.1–2 99, 126
28.5–9 126
Theophanes Confessor
chron.
anno 360/1 2
anno 397/8 303
Verba Seniorum: see *Apophthegmata Patrum*
Vitae Sanctorum Anonymae
V. Alexandri Acoem. 9–17 122
V. Alypii styl. prior 9 132
V. Danielis styl. tertia 9–11 126
V. Epiphanii 53 116
V. Gregentii (*PG* 98:709B) 129
V. Marcelli 6–7 117
V. Matronae 14–15, 19–22 128
V. Moysis Archimandritae: see *Life of Moses of Abydos*
V. Nicolai Sion 11, 15–20 130
V. Nicolai Myrensis
I 127–128 (28–29), 228 130–131
II 225–226, 275–276, 433–436 130–131
V. Pachomii **Φ** 45 95
V. Rabbulae 169–170 2
V. Sinuthii Archimandritae
83–84 142, 152, 165
125–126 143, 151, 169, 177
Zacharias Mytilenensis Rhetor (Scholasticus)
h. e. 8.4 1
v. Sev.
27–35 141, 144, 151, 176, 305
71 301
137 301
Zosimus
hist.
4.37 180, 299, 344
5.23.3 349–350

C. *Inscriptions and graffiti*

CIG IV 8627 10
Graff. Philae
365 209
436 209
IEph
I 2 244
IV 1351 244
IG IX.12.4 1191 244
IPhilae II
194 222
199 209
200 214
202 214
216 222
ISyriaW 2498 10
MAMA VIII
437–438 244
450 244
457 250
OGI II 610 10, 243
SEG
VII 256 253
XXI 900 251
XXXVI 970 247
XXXVII 851 258
XLIV 863 251
Griffith 1937
1:102–103 209
1:126–127 209
Reynolds – Tannenbaum 1987 247
Roueché 1989
no. 25 253
no. 56 254
Waddington 1870, 569–570 10

D. *Papyri*

Bauer – Strzygowski 1906, pl. 6 verso	350	*P. Lond.* V 1855.7	220
P. Cair.Masp. I 67004	211	*P. Oxy.* I 43	8
P. Horak 10	24	*P. Oxy*. XVII 2154	8
P. Leid. Z	220	P. Vindob. inv. G 13288	24
		PSI III 175	8

GENERAL INDEX

Abinnaeus 32
Abraham 284
Abramius 115
Abu Mina 310
Abydos 136, 305, 314
  Osireion 152
Acta Pauli et Theclae 123
administration, Roman 3, 163, 165, 174, 350, 353
Adrianople, battle of 70–71
Aelia Capitolina 279
Aelia Flacilla 246
aera Martyrum 322
Aetius (bishop) 54, 67
African traditional religion 153
Agorius Praetextatus 254
Aigai in Cilicia, Asclepius sanctuary 48–49, 125
Alexander the Sleepless 122
Alexandria 19–20, 47, 52, 54, 56, 67, 71, 80–84, 136, 144, 147, 210, 216, 218, 220, 225, 228–230, 232, 257, 300–304, 335–360
  temples 337, 351, 354
  Serapeum 19–20, 43, 50, 55, 58, 79, 80–84, 86, 91, 101–104, 107, 145, 153, 162, 164, 170, 176, 180, 300, 313, 335–360
  library in Serapeum, its destruction 301
  Caesareum 319–320
  church building 357, 360
  Mithraeum 346, 348, 356
  Tychaeum 338, 353–354
altars, pagan 169
Alypius (hermit) 131
Ambrose (bishop of Milan) 73, 75–76
Ammonius (grammarian) 82, 347
Ammonius (Egyptian monk) 107
anonymous pilgrim from Bordeaux 278
Anoub (monk) 100–101, 147, 151–152
anthropology 37
Antinoopolis (Egypt) 162, 165, 320
Antioch 8–10, 64, 71, 76
Antony (hermit) 107–108
Apamea, temple of Jupiter 50, 309
Aphaca, temple of Aphrodite 48–49
Aphrodisias 18, 243–260
Aphrodite (goddess) 1–2, 145, 172, 244–245, 255, 259, 279
  statue of 118
Apollinopolis Magna (Edfu), Horus temple 307, 312
Apollo of Hermopolis 106, 136, 140–141, 145, 147, 154
Apollonius of Tyana 255
Apophthegmata Patrum 93
Appion (bishop of Syene) 219–221, 228
Arabs 284
Arcadius (emperor) 69–70, 179–180
archaeological evidence 3, 9–10, 19, 351
archiereia 251–252
archiereus 249–250
Arians 52, 56
Artemis (goddess) 122, 243–244
Artemis Eleuthera, temple of 130
Artemius (military commander) 54
Asclepiodotus of Aphrodisias 249, 255, 258–259
Athanasius (bishop of Alexandria) 31, 52, 56, 69–70, 73, 84, 95, 355
  Vita Antonii 114
Atripe 162–166, 178
  temple of Triphis 136, 142, 310, 316, 323
  monastery of Shenoute 322–323
Atum (Egyptian god) 170

Baalbek, Baal temple; see Heliopolis
baptism, Christian 174–176
Babylas (martyr) 59
Bes (god) 136–137, 140
Besa, disciple of Shenoute 109, 141, 143, 162
  Vita Sinuthii 162
Bessarion 103–106
Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity 279
Biga 313
bishop 20, 114, 219–224, 346
Blemmyes 205, 207, 210–211, 215–216, 219, 222, 224, 226
Bowersock, Glen 288

bread, as pagan offering 169, 181
Brown, Peter 91

caches of pagan cult objects 135, 143, 152, 181
Caesarea Maritima 277, 279–281, 289
Caesarea Philippi 283
Canopus 81, 147, 302, 304
cell 109–110
Christian literature; see also hagiography 25–26, 28–29
Christian names 256
Christianization 2–3, 6–7, 17, 20, 39, 132–133, 150, 276–280, 283, 285, 287–288, 357
Christians, social position 246
church building, church foundation 212–215, 217–218, 221, 357, 360
Church histories, Church historians 14–15, 44, 46, 57, 60–65, 68, 72–74, 76–79, 86, 339, 342–343, 345, 353
Codex Theodosianus 207, 215, 340–344
competition, religious 245, 259–260
conflict, religious 244–245
Constans (emperor) 63, 69, 70
Constantine I (emperor) 1, 44, 48–50, 55, 60, 63, 66–71, 74, 114, 146, 170, 180, 250, 277–279, 284–285
Constantinople 67, 71, 84
Constantius II (emperor) 52–54, 56, 63, 66–71, 75
Crete 254
cross, symbol of the 115, 132–133, 150, 152, 214–218, 244–246, 317–319, 356
cross-cultural study 138–139
crypto-pagan 161, 172, 175
cult idols 168–172, 174, 176–178, 181
cult objects, pagan 162, 164, 178, 181, 346
Cynegius (*praefectus praetorio Orientis*) 118, 179, 299, 344
Cyril (bishop of Alexandria) 69, 70, 73, 78, 216, 304, 319, 347, 355

Dakhla Oasis 35
Damascius 249, 357
Daniel (bishop of Philae) 222
Daniel the Stylite 126
Daphne, Apollo sanctuary 12, 43
Deir el-Bahari, monastery of Phoibammon 317
Deir el-Medina 317
death of emperors 66–71
Deichmann, Friedrich 9, 13
demons 52, 58, 59, 95–110, 115–116, 126–133, 143, 147, 149, 151, 315
  images of 169–170, 172, 178
Dendur 210, 217–218
de-sacralization 5, 8, 213–215, 217, 225, 356–357
Dexianus (bishop of Seleucia) 124
Diocletian (emperor) 66, 205, 207, 209–210, 220
Dionysius (bishop of Alexandria) 66
Diospolis Magna (Luxor), temple of Ammon 307, 314, 321
discourse on temple destruction 5–6, 11
discrimination, against Jews 249
Doctrina Addai 233–234
Dodekaschoinos 207–211, 217–218, 223, 229
Domitian (*praefectus praetorio*) 67
double axe 259
Dulcitius 254

Echo 283
Edessa 233–234
Egypt 14–16, 19–20, 23–40, 91–111, 135–155, 161–181, 203–205, 208–211, 219, 229–230, 299–323, 335–336
Eileithyiaspolis (al-Kab) 321
'Ein-Tzur 277–278
Eleona, on the Mount of Olives 279
Elephantine 207, 210–211, 220, 223, 227
  temple of Chnum 307, 312
Elias (monk) 100
emperor 9, 14–15
emperor cult 249–250
epekoos 258
Ephesus 243–244
Epiphanius (bishop of Salamis) 116
Eudoxia (empress) 118, 120
Eudoxius (bishop of Antioch) 54
Eugenius (usurper) 63
Eunapius (historian) 147, 302, 339, 342, 3
Eunomius (bishop of Cyzicus) 67
Eupeithios 258
European Reformation 138–139
Eusebius (Church historian) 1, 14, 43–45, 47, 48, 57, 60, 61, 66, 67, 72, 77, 78, 279, 284
  Vita Constantini 114, 279, 284

Eutropia 284
Euzoeus (heretic) 67
Evagrius (*praefectus Augustalis*) 340, 349
exorcism 16, 144, 152
exposure of sacred images 146–148, 355–356

Faustinianus 116
fire, used to purify a temple 164–165, 356
Flavianus (bishop of Antioch) 76
Fl. Aelius Gessius (*praeses Thebaidis*) 17, 24, 28, 30–31, 39, 142–143, 152, 161–163, 166, 168–178, 180
Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus (*praefectus praetorio Orientis*) 253, 344–345
Fl. Quinctilius Eros Monaxius 252–253
foundation legend 231–236
Frankfurter, David 23–36, 94

Galerius (emperor) 66
Galilee 277, 286
Gallus (*caesar*) 67
Gaza 117–121
Gelasius (Church historian) 44
Gerizim, Mount 288
Gessius (Gesios); see Fl. Aelius Gessius
Goehring, James 94
Golan 286
governor of Caria 252–253
  of Crete 254
Gregentius 129
Gregor (bishop of Alexandria) 56

hagiasma 252, 257
hagiography 15–16, 58, 108–109, 113–132, 135–138, 225–231
Harpokrates (Egyptian god) 172
Hecate, statue of 166
Heliopolis (Baalbek) 1–3, 43, 48, 322
Helladius (grammarian) 82, 347
hellēnes, Hellenism; see pagans
heresy, heretics 47, 51–57, 59, 70, 71, 75, 77, 85
Hermes (god) 172
Hermes-Thot 321, 356
Hermon, Mount 283, 287
Hermopolis (Egypt) 162, 165
Honorius (emperor) 179–180
Hermopolis Magna (el-Ashmunein) 140, 147, 306, 311
Herod the Great 280, 283–284
Hilarion (monk) 115–116
Histories of the Monks of Upper Egypt 225–227
historiography (*historía*), pagan 60–63, 65, 68, 74, 76–79, 86
Honorius (emperor) 70, 253
Horus-falcon 136, 145, 225
Hypatius of Rufinianae 122

iconoclasm 16, 135–155, 346, 354–357
identity, religious 245, 255–259
idols; see statues
incense, as pagan offering 169, 181
inscriptions, and graffiti 208–209, 211–215, 217, 222, 231
interaction between religious groups 257–258
interpretatio graeca 137
Isaak (monk) 70
Isis, Isis-cult 140, 207–212, 217–218
  at Menouthis 136, 141, 319
Isis Medica, κυρία Μενούθι 304, 319

Jerusalem 18, 43, 48–50, 69, 279–281, 288
  Aphrodite temple 114, 124
  Church of the Holy Sepulchre 12, 279, 281
Jesus, divine status of 173
Jews, Jewish 245–249, 256, 258, 277
John Chrysostom 69, 70, 83, 84, 355
John of Ephesus 129
John of Lycopolis 104–105
John the Almoner 27
John the Baptist, relics of 303–304, 357
Jordan 283
Jovian (emperor) 46, 51, 54, 55–65, 70
Julian (emperor) 8–9, 45, 46, 49–51, 53–55, 65–71, 76, 137, 145, 205, 207, 209–210, 220
Justinian (emperor) 17, 203–207, 211–212, 216–217, 229–230, 236

Kalabsha 208, 217
  temple of Mandulis 313
Karnak, temple district 311–312, 314–315
  temple of Chon 314
Kastron Memnonion (Medinet Habu) 314
Kokysion, mount 124
Kothos (Egyptian god) 140
Kronos (god) 136–137, 143–144, 169, 171–173

labrys 259
lamps, as cult objects 169, 174, 181
language, religious vocabulary 253, 255, 257
Latopolis (Esna) 314
legality of pagan worship 172, 176, 180
legends 135–136, 141–155
legislation 3, 17, 26, 91–92, 178–180, 207, 215, 252, 299, 307–308, 340–344
Libanius 9, 139–140, 299, 343
Pro templis 9, 175, 343
Licinius (emperor) 44, 63, 66
Lucius (bishop of Alexandria) 52, 56
Luxor 8, 33, 307, 321

Macarius of Tkōou (Qaw el-Kebir, Antaeopolis) 109, 136, 151–152
Macarius the Great 98
Macedonius (bishop of Philae) 136, 141–142, 145, 225, 227–228, 230
Macedonius (hermit) 76
Maioumas, festival of 254
Mambre, sanctuary 43, 49, 279, 284–285
Manichaeans 35
Marcellus (bishop of Apamea) 116–117, 309
Maria κυρία 231
Marnas, Marneion 118–121
Maron (hermit) 126
martyrium, martyr 50, 83, 145, 246, 346
Matrona from Perge 127
Maximian (emperor) 66
Maximinus (emperor) 250
Menouthis 109, 136, 141–142, 144, 147, 176, 216, 304–305
Meroe 205, 207
military 203–204, 219–220, 222–224, 227
Min (Egyptian god) 140, 142, 170, 172, 201
mockery of pagan idols in public 176, 181
monks, monasticism 15, 52, 91–111, 136, 142–145, 163, 166, 169, 176–177, 219, 224–228, 232, 234, 302, 308, 315–317, 343, 352, 357
Moses of Abydos 109, 136, 151–153
mutilation, apotropaic 147–148
Myra 130–131

names, and religious identity 248, 255–258
naophoric priests (Egyptian) 169–170, 200–201
Narses (Kamsarakan) 203–204, 230
Nicea, council of 48, 69
Nicholas (bishop of Myra) 130–131
Nicholas (bishop of Sion) 58, 129–131
Nile cubit (Nilometer) 170, 357
Nile cult 136, 143
Nobades 205, 207, 210, 215–216, 224
Notitia urbis Alexandrinae 7, 336–337

Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus 253–254
Omboi 220
omina 76
oracle(s) 50, 55, 149
oracular sanctuaries 123
Origen 78
Origenist controversy 105
Orosius 301–302
orthodoxy 46–48, 50–52, 54–57, 59, 61, 64, 70–75, 77, 81, 84
Oxyrhynchus 35, 58, 99–100, 108–109
Thoërion 24

Pachomius 113
pagan(s), paganism 2–4, 9, 14, 28, 166–169, 173, 176, 275–289, 336–337, 357–359
Palestine 18–19, 275–289
Palladas (epigrammatist) 353–354, 358–360
Pan (god, in Egypt) 170, 283
Paneas 283
Panegyric on Macarius of Tkōou 149–150
Panopolis (Akhmim) 16–17, 28, 162, 167, 169–170, 176, 178, 181
Papias (bishop of Hierapolis) 66
Paralius of Aphrodisias 257
Paul of Tamma 109
Paulus (bishop of Constantinople) 52
Petemout (Medamud), temple of Month 313
Peter (bishop of Alexandria) 47, 56
Peter Mongus (bishop of Alexandria) 109, 136, 144–145, 153, 305
Philae 12, 17–18, 135, 142, 145, 147, 203–236, 307, 312, 318
Isis temple 313, 320
Philagrius (*prefectus Augustalis*) 56
philoponoi 144–145, 153–154

Philostorgius (Church historian) 44, 67, 72
piety, imperial 49, 50, 59, 63, 73–75
pilgrims 207–208, 221, 224
Pleueit; see Pneueit
Pliny the Younger 8
Plutarch (governor of *provincia Insularum*) 252
Pneueit (Pleueit) 136, 152, 165–166
Poemen 100
Porphyry (bishop of Gaza) 117–121
priests, pagan 140, 142, 162, 165, 172
Procopius (historian) 203–204
proselyte, Jewish 248, 257
purification 16, 129, 356
Pythagoras 255
Pytheas 254–255, 258

relics 216, 357
Romanus (*comes Aegypti*) 340, 349
Rufinus (Church historian) 44–47, 52, 53, 62, 65–67, 72, 74, 77, 79–84, 301–302, 339, 345–347, 351
Rufinus (*praefectus praetorio Orientis*) 341

sacrifice 49, 53, 137, 253
Sallust (*praefectus praetorio Galliarum*) 68
Samaria, Samaritans 277–278, 286, 288
Sarpedon/Sarpedonios, oracle of 123–124
Schwartz, Seth 37–38
Scythopolis 281–283
Senaim, Mount 287
Septimius Severus (emperor) 38
Serapis 338, 345, 356
Severus of Antioch 129
Shenoute of Atripe 16–17, 24, 28–30, 32, 108, 136, 142–145, 150, 152–153, 161–181, 305, 309
  Let Our Eyes 167, 169, 176–179, 181–197
  Not because a Fox Barks 171
shrine, private (pagan) 166, 168–170, 178, 181
shrines, domestic 144
Smith, Jonathan Z. 94
Socrates (Church historian) 44, 45, 48, 49, 52–55, 60, 62, 65–68, 72, 74–86, 339, 342, 345, 347–349, 351, 353–354
sophist 258
Soter (bishop of Rome) 66
soul, immortality of 258–259
Sozomen (Church historian) 1, 44, 45, 49, 52, 54, 60, 66, 68–70, 72, 74–78, 83–85, 284, 339, 342, 345, 347, 349, 351
spells 152
spolia 306, 310–312, 322–323
stasis 77, 84
statue(s) 16, 138–145
statues, destruction of 243–244, 301, 305, 308–309
statuettes, terra-cotta 172
Stauropolis 244
Stephanus (proto-martyr) 212–214, 216
Stone, Lawrence 25, 37
succession, episcopal 232–234
superstitio 57, 81, 84
Syene (Aswan) 203, 210–211, 219–228, 235
symbols, religious; see also cross 247–248, 253, 259
sympatheia 74
Syria 99, 126

Taposiris Magna 321
  temple of 306, 311–312
Tatianus; see Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus
temple abandonment 4
temple destruction 1–20, 161–165, 335–357
temple robbery 309, 344, 354–355
temple transformation 4–14, 6–12, 244, 259–260
Tentyris (Dendara), temple of Hathor 307, 310, 314
Terenuthis 100
Thalelaeus 126
Theandrios, temple of 243
Thebaïs 203–205
Thecla 123–125
Theodore of Sykeon 131
Theodoret (Church historian) 44, 45, 50–55, 59, 60, 65, 66, 68, 71–79, 84–86, 99, 339, 345, 351
  Historia religiosa 125–126
Theodorus (bishop of Philae) 211–219, 229, 235
Theodosius I (emperor) 1, 19, 31, 50, 51, 55, 63, 66, 68, 70, 73–75, 116, 166, 179–180, 246, 299, 340, 343–344, 346, 349
Theodosius II (emperor) 44, 67, 179
Theophilus (bishop of Alexandria) 58, 80–84, 102–104, 107, 146–147, 218,

229, 300, 302–303, 308–309, 340, 342, 346–350, 354–355, 359–360
theosebeis 247–248, 257
Thessalonica, massacre of 73, 75
topography, cultic 93–94, 96–97, 109–111
Triphis (Egyptian goddess) 164

Valens (emperor) 30, 51, 52, 55, 56, 59, 68, 70, 71, 77, 166, 173
Valentinian I (emperor) 51, 67
Valentinian III (emperor) 179
violence 162–166, 203–205, 212–214, 231, 234, 236, 243, 346–348, 353

White Monastery 108
White Monastery manuscripts 167

Zachariah of Mytilene 142, 144, 147, 249
Zenon (emperor) 245, 255
Zenon, Flavius (sculptor) 249
Zeus Akraios 282
Zeus, Carian 259
Zeus, statue of 169
Zosimus (historian) 349–350

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